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The American Historical Review

THE FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY MEETING

THE Fiftieth Anniversary Meeting of the Association, held in Washington on December 27, 28, and 29, was the second celebration of the founding of this organization. The first was held in December, 1909, at the close of a quarter century. The sister society, the American Economic Association, only a few months younger, joined in that celebration. The place was New York City. The historian records that the two societies had by resolution determined to make the occasion festive.[1] And festive it was. The members seem to have been dazzled by the lavish hospitality which the local committee of arrangements had provided. They were entertained by the Merchants' Association, the Chamber of Commerce, and even a life insurance company. Capitalism had not then been so often reminded by members of these associations that it was dead or dying. The rugged individualist, with a comfortable sense of security about the future, felt expansive. The program of the meeting had another notable characteristic. It was concerned almost wholly with the past history of the world. There was hardly a reference to contemporary problems. The historian was not yet so much inclined to wrap himself in the mantle of prophecy and peer into the future. The Fiftieth Anniversary Meeting was an equally interesting occasion, but its mood was different. It was not so festive. The business world had other things on its mind. The program also was concerned almost as much with the problems of the present as with interpretations of the past. It would be a mistake, however, to intimate that the past did not receive its share of attention. Indeed, one general session was devoted to the "Half-Century of American Historiography", from the date of the organization of the Association to the present time. The culmination of all was the "Founders Dinner" in honor of the five charter members whose names are still on the rolls.

Ten other societies met concurrently with the Association. They were the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, the Conference of

[1] *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XV, 475–477.

State and Local Historical Societies, the Agricultural History Society, the American Society of Church History, the American Catholic Historical Association, the History of Science Society, the Bibliographical Society of America, the Mediaeval Academy of America, the Association of Research Libraries, and the National Council of Social Studies. Several of the sessions were joint meetings or luncheons with one or another of these societies. The registration of the Association was the largest in its history—817.

The richness of the program offered was a subject of comment as soon as copies were sent out. The many expressions of satisfaction heard at the meeting reinforced this impression. Thanks are due to the Program Committee of which Professor Samuel F. Bemis was chairman. One noteworthy feature, that deserves imitation by future committees, was the number and interest of the general sessions. Of these there were two on each of the first two days. This relieved the impression of a conflict of appeal which has often been felt. The plans of the Committee on Local Arrangements, of which Professor Leo F. Stock was chairman, facilitated the harmonious administration of the many different interests. Nearly all the sessions were held under the same roof and were therefore easily accessible. The location of the rooms was such that the noises of the lobby did not make it difficult to hear papers.

One of the charms of this meeting, as of its predecessors, was the opportunity it offered to groups, the graduates of particular university seminars, for example, to assemble again the now widely scattered members. There were also teas. Many old friends were received at the home of the Archivist and Mrs. Connor. The Japanese Embassy served tea to the officers and chairmen of committees. The George Washington University entertained another group at luncheon. A tea was given by Dr. Leonid Strakhovsky in honor of Professor Rostovtzeff the incoming president. At the Department of State, through the courtesy of Dr. Hunter Miller, historical adviser, an exhibition of documents was prepared. Dr. Julius Klein and the Paramount Motion Picture Corporation, after the Presidential Address, arranged to have thrown on the screen a series of newsreels depicting historic episodes of the last quarter century. The various publications of the Association were on display at the headquarters hotel and the Joint Committee on Materials of Research of the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council also had on display the latest apparatus for reproducing research materials.

At the last annual meeting of the Association Dr. Beard, in his

Presidential Address, stirred many of his hearers to reconsider their philosophy of history, or, perhaps, to look about and discover if they had one. This may account for the emphasis on philosophy in the themes of two or three of the general sessions. One of the general sessions was, acording to custom, reserved for the Presidential Address. Dr. Dodd's audience was very large, and yet he was heard perfectly because the loud speakers were unusually well managed. He chose as his subject "The Emergence of the First Social Order in the United States". As the address was printed in the January number of this journal an analysis here is unnecessary. It is sufficient to remark that Dr. Dodd gave an illuminating illustration of a new approach to the historical study of American society.

It was especially fitting that at the Fiftieth Anniversary Meeting one general session should be given to papers dealing with "A Half-Century of American Historiography". No review of the ancient field was attempted, although, as Dr. Jameson, the chairman, remarked, American scholars have done increasingly important work there. The able paper on "American Historiography of the History of the United States", presented by Professor Theodore Clarke Smith, appears on the later pages of this *Review*. In dealing with the field of Modern European history Professor George M. Dutcher noted the constantly larger place in historical writing which the university trained teacher took from the second decade of the fifty-year period. In the fifth decade there was a marked gain in the relative number of women, also trained in university seminars, who have made substantial contributions. Speaking of the scope of historical interest, Professor Dutcher said that at the beginning of the period there seems to have been slight attention to Continental countries other than France, but as time went on interest rapidly widened, although even now insufficient emphasis is given to the North and East, and to Asiatic peoples. He expressed his regret that there had been no recent attempt in America to interpret historically the aims of the Japanese people. He also noted the powerful influence the World War had in the fourth decade in shifting interest to contemporary history. Some of the work of that period was vitiated by the spirit of propaganda, but some of it had preserved an admirable balance. The opening of foreign archives which followed the war gave a great opportunity for an adequate study of the diplomatic history of the prewar years, and American scholars had taken full advantage of this. Professor Dutcher also pointed out as a significant trait of the period as a whole the sound work in biography, "though the most popular volumes have

been produced by individuals whose interests were literary, psychological, and sensational, rather than historical". On the other hand he found that "Constitutional history, with its emphasis upon the permanent rather than the transitory aspects of government and politics, has been falling into neglect". "Even more serious", said he, "in its misrepresentation of the history of the past has been the decline of interest in religion and a failure to represent accurately the very large part which it actually played in the lives of past generations". With regard to periods of history, he remarked the "neglect of the two centuries from 1660 to 1870, except in the case of the French Revolution". He also expressed the feeling that the "modern historian in the United States has yet to learn from his European colleagues the possibilities of co-operative effort in the production of works of broad scope".

In reviewing the work done in the medieval field by American scholars Professor C. W. David began by remarking that the serious study of the Middle Ages and the "writing in America of important books about the Middle Ages are to a surprising degree a product of the last half century . . .". Before 1884 Henry Charles Lea was the only outstanding figure. The first constructive attempt to train medievalists was the seminar which Henry Adams had established at Harvard. In contrast to that situation five hundred persons were recorded in Professor Willard's most recent *Bulletin* as working in the field. Part of the change is due to "a remarkable growth of organization and co-operative enterprises", of which the chief are the Mediaeval Academy and the American Council of Learned Societies. Part is due to the influence of great teachers like George Burton Adams and Charles H. Haskins. "More than any other influence", said Professor David, "they have controlled the development of our subject and the recruiting of our ranks." He found that we have done relatively little in political history. "It is to institutional history that we seem most naturally to turn; and it is probably here that we have done our best and most enduring work." Lea's principal books fall within the half century, and "must still be regarded as the most impressive single product of American Medieval scholarship". The speaker did not exaggerate the character of our accomplishment, for he said that much as we have done "a comparison of our output with that of European scholars would inevitably be to our disadvantage". He also remarked that "much of our scholarship lacks richness of background and that we often write badly, indeed, that many of us are less interested in literary excellence than we should be". Before concluding he indicated some of the tasks which should be undertaken.

The borderlands between divisions of our subject have received insufficient attention; and there are still almost virgin fields awaiting cultivation—the Moslems, the Byzantines, the Slavs, and Asia in general, to mention only a few. Here it is probably the linguistic barrier which has mainly held us back as it is the linguistic barrier which keeps some of us almost strangers in the fields in which we actually profess to work. But it seems to me that our vision is also unfortunately limited by tradition. We have too long been accustomed to regard the Middle Ages almost exclusively from the classical, the western Christian, and the European standpoints. We have paid too little attention to the East and the North. But already there are indications of coming change, and it may be that the next fifty years will witness an advance fully comparable with that of the half century which has just elapsed.

The general session on "History and Philosophy" was opened by a paper of Dr. J. H. Breasted, which drew illustrations of the relations of "History and Idealism" from the development of civilization among the ancient Egyptians, pursuing a line of thought which the distinguished author presented in his *Dawn of Conscience*. Dr. Eugen Rosenstock-Hüssy, of Harvard University, in a paper of striking suggestiveness, commenting on "The Predicament of History", pointed out how necessary it was for the historian to keep in mind that his real function was to interpret and correct the memories and traditions of mankind, in other words, to restate the facts which linger in the popular mind and place them in their true setting. It had been hoped that Professor Benedetto Croce could be present at this session and discuss his conception of history. He was not able to accept the invitation, reinforced as it was by that of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, but he sent a paper which was read by Dr. Crane Brinton. In the program the title was "The Basic Problem in Historical Studies", but his own wording makes his aim slightly clearer, "The Study of History: its Different Forms and its Present Task". He divided historical students into three groups: those devoted to the tasks of critical scholarship; 'oratorical' historians who have written of men, nations, or events "in order to derive comfort, encouragement, admonition, or food for meditation"; and philosophical historians who study the development of the attitudes and concepts which lie behind men's present thoughts, aims, and actions. The last is, in Professor Croce's opinion, the true history. The others have their place. The first is absolutely necessary, and the second highly useful if it should rid itself of its present tendency to excite class, racial, or national antagonisms and to rake up "the loves, lusts, morbid passions, and dark crimes of the past". Philosophical history finds its origin not in detachment from life but in an impulse to take part in the struggle. Such impulses "come to ripeness by passing

through the stage of reflection or theory", which paves "the way to decision . . . to the working of the will in practical creativeness". The following sentences from the closing paragraph are impressive.

> Finally, it cannot be denied that a profound gulf separates the past from the present, and that we can see everywhere a new Jacobinism, not like the old, which appealed to an abstract *humanité,* but basing itself solely on abstract economics and abstract political force, claiming to build a new social order by the method of calculation and technique, replacing complex man—that is to say, civilized man—with simplified man, historical man with man treated as if outside of history, or, rather, with a trained animal. Faced by this modern Jacobinism, the task becomes very difficult for the historian who wishes to preserve the bonds between the past and the present, so as not to lose any of the conquests in the fields of the true, the beautiful, and the good won in the course of centuries, and to prevent a breaking of traditions which would mean barbarism (since barbarism has been acutely defined as a breaking of traditions), a period of depression in which mankind would be forced to wait for the unfailing, but slow and laborious, rediscovery of civilization.

Professor Croce regarded this unhappy prospect as no ground for despair but as a call "to come more closely together, concentrating our effort toward our common aim".

Equally fundamental concepts of history were the subject of another of the general sessions, that furnished with the somewhat formidable title of "Dynamics and History". Professor Roy F. Nichols, who discussed "The Dynamic Interpretation of History", took as his text Henry Adams's *Letter to American Teachers of History,* copies of which were sent to many members of the Association in 1910, and which attempted to formulate a dynamic theory of history. It has been said that Mr. Adams was surprised at the slight response which that *Letter* provoked. Perhaps he would have been more surprised had he learned how few of the recipients could truthfully say that they understood the book or even had succeeded in reading it through. Professor Nichols made the whole matter not only clear, but interesting. Mr. Adams's "second law of thermodynamics", he explained, no longer threatens the universe with early decay. Einstein and his theory of relativity have changed all that. Professor Nichols, however, expressed the belief that a dynamic interpretation of history is possible. He argued that if historians join with biologists and psychologists in studying the forces of bodily energy and the motives of behavior the result may be a new dynamic law, which will be not a law of progress or a law of degradation but a law of adaptation. "History in reality is a story of man's adaptation of himself to the forces of the universe which he has in part released and harnessed."

The other two papers dealt with the origin of the Industrial Revolution and with the relation of machinery to unemployment. Professor Harry J. Carman contended that the historians were in error who taught that the Industrial Revolution had its beginnings in England and in the eighteenth century. These beginnings were much earlier, even in the Middle Ages and on the Continent. It would have been interesting if he had explained how the erroneous impression arose. Dr. Victor S. Clark defended the position that invention of new machines, while it might lead to the temporary unemployment of individual workmen, was not the cause of unemployment. Our wants, he said, were Protean, and added, "In all likelihood they will continue to outstrip the possibilities of the machine in the future as they have in the past, and our hands will never be idle for want of useful things to do".

At several other sessions preoccupations of the present moment gave special point to the discussions of the past. One was an inquiry into the thesis that "Business Prosperity has been the Basis of Cultural Prosperity in All Ages". Those who took part in the discussion were Professor Samuel H. Cross, Professor Henry S. Lucas, Dr. Henrietta M. Larson, and Professor M. I. Rostovtzeff. Professor Rostovtzeff objected to the term "prosperity as unscientific, vague, and indefinite". His reason was that a dominant class might be prosperous, and the era described as one of great productivity, and yet the bulk of the working people be living in wretched conditions. He therefore wished to state the problem in these terms: "Is there any relation between a definite form of economic and a definite form of cultural evolution?" It was evident that the speakers did not have the same things in mind when they used the word "culture" or the phrase "cultural prosperity". Professor Rostovtzeff was thinking of the great products of human genius. He instanced Homer and Hesiod as examples. He also remarked that "cultural life was brisk in the beginnings of the Roman Empire but dull and standardized later when stabilization of economic life was achieved". Both Dr. Larson and Professor Lucas apparently had a general diffusion of culture in mind, for Dr. Larson gave as examples of the dependence of culture upon prosperity an increase in leisure and the rise of the purchasing power in all classes, while Professor Lucas pointed out that growth in trade and the consequent rise of the towns in the medieval centuries prepared the material foundations for the remarkable culture which we may describe as the classic Middle Ages. Professor Cross remarked that after all, prior to the Industrial Revolution, intellectual progress, whatever its manifestation, was the property of extremely

limited classes, the aristocracy of birth or fortune, its protegés, or the servants of the Church. A condition of widespread prosperity would thus have little to do with the matter. The interrelationship of business prosperity and cultural prosperity increases as we approach recent times. Professor Cross found that in eighteenth century France the spread of rationalistic and humane ideals among the middle class, which had prospered at the expense of the aristocracy, was intimately related to social and economic factors. This is also true of the immense advance of German culture during the same period. Professor Rostovtzeff, thinking primarily of the ancient world, reached the conclusion that "No relations can be established between economic and cultural development, no laws are valid. Great creations are produced by the human spirit, and the human spirit is still a mystery".

The specter of imminent revolution has been used so much of late in the argument about new deals that the "Revolutionary Tradition in Europe" was naturally the subject of a session. Dr. Louis Gottschalk in opening the discussion criticized those sociological writers who have recently attempted to present a "Natural history" of revolutions upon none too solid bases of fact, often content to borrow their particulars second-hand from historians of the liberal school who sometimes utilize the process of selection not wisely but too well. If we are to have such a "Natural history" it will have to be done by historians who endeavor to understand each revolutionary movement in its own setting rather than try to find a common denominator among such events that will lend itself to the establishment of universal laws. Dr. Gottschalk pointed out, for example, that the French revolutionaries had in mind more than a single tradition. The traditions varied not only according to political groups but also within the same group from time to time. The editor of this journal took part in the discussion, with a paper on "The Technique of Revolution", choosing his illustrations from the last three great revolutions, French, German (1848), and Russian. He said that the Bolsheviks and their leader Lenin were the most conscious of the revolutionary process as an art. He showed also how the leaders of the three movements recognized the importance of giving weight and sweep to their cause by winning over the workingmen and the peasant. Finally, he explained from examples that the control of the army was the key to the success or the failure of revolutions. The last speaker, Professor Guy Stanton Ford, had to answer the puzzling question, "Are Revolutions Necessary?" He alluded to Jefferson's "apparently sober suggestion that a revolution every generation would be a healthy

social purgative". He then considered the multitudinous usages of the word, and declined to classify as such any except the "major breakdowns and reconstructions", social movements with a "long swing", not "street scuffles, mob outbreaks, *coup d'états* of scheming charlatans". The word would cover "those factors that led a generation or several generations . . . to feel in certain ages that the existing order no longer served their interests", and to believe that "a new Utopia could be brought about in their day by some act or effort of theirs". To tell whether such a revolution is at hand the observer must "gauge the unreflecting discontent of the mass mind and among the intellectual group the thoughtful warnings of those who have no blueprint of the future to offer".

The "Executive and Presidential Power", a concern of the present moment, gave point to the papers in a session on the history of the United States. In dealing with the problem Dr. Alfred Kelly discussed "The Expansion of the Executive Power through Boards and Commissions". He showed that these organs of government did not come in shortly after noon on March 4, 1933, as so often imagined, but that they made their appearance before the nineteenth century closed and came to exercise legislative and judicial as well as administrative functions. The courts accepted them reluctantly, and the question still in doubt is the right of these commissions to interpret the extent of their own authority and to present their findings of fact as conclusive. Professor H. C. Hockett gave an instructive illustration of how a strong personality like Jackson could tip the scales in favor of the executive. The primary condition was a great popular following. This Jackson recruited from the newly enfranchised class. He consolidated it by the use of Federal patronage. In contests with Congress he employed the veto freely. Elections became plebiscites. His principal conflict, however, was not with Congress or the Supreme Court, but with the State of South Carolina, and his energetic attitude in this case, Professor Hockett contended, paved the way for Lincoln's action in the crisis of 1861.

As the Japanese question has recently taken on disquieting, not to say sinister, aspects, the paper presented by Professor J. B. Brebner, in the session on "The British Empire", was listened to with deep interest. He said that Japan had so loyally observed the terms of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance and the Americans in the postwar period had displayed so strong an aversion to any definite schemes of international cooperation that in 1921 at the Imperial Conference the British cabinet and most of the Dominion representatives had decided in favor of a renewal

of the alliance. At this juncture Arthur Meighen, prime minister of Canada, single-handed, checked the movement. Speaking for his own country, and aware of the American attitude, he argued that renewal would imply some toleration of Japanese aggression in the Far East and would impair the good Anglo-American relations so vital to Canada, and indeed to the whole empire. This led the cabinet to reconsider the possibilities of American co-operation in resolving the Pacific problem. When Washington responded favorably the alliance was shelved to disappear entirely at the Washington Conference.[2]

In other sessions projects were described which are of special interest to the Association or its allied societies. First on this list came the Conference of Archivists and State Historical Societies at which the leading speaker was Dr. R. D. W. Connor, recently appointed archivist of the National Archives. He told the members something of the problems which confronted him. The session also heard a paper by Dr. Waldo G. Leland on "International Committees, Conferences, and Congresses of Archivists". Dr. A. R. Newsome then spoke of "Recent Surveys of State and Local Archives", supplementing the information in the paper presented by him a year ago at Urbana and printed in the July number of this journal. Within the year 1934, he explained, the Public Archives Commission of the Association has supervised the preparation of inventories of state archives in South Carolina, Nevada, North Dakota, Oklahoma, and Utah. Independent surveys have been made of the South Dakota state archives and of a portion of those of Illinois, of Indian tribal records in Oklahoma, and of some of the local archives of Vermont and Virginia. In Pennsylvania through the aid of persons furnished by the relief organizations there has been a survey of state and county archives. Similar work has been done for county archives in Minnesota and Alabama, and to a limited extent in New York and Wyoming. This program has emphasized for each state as the goal a complete survey of state and local archives. Before the conference adjourned Dr. J. Franklin Jameson delighted the audience with reminiscenses of the movement for the promotion of a national archive building and of archival work. Dr. Connor then conducted a large party

[2] Two other papers were read at this session: "The Author of the Mississippi Boundary of 1763", by Dr. T. C. Pease, and "Canada as a Factor in Anglo-American Relations in the 1860's", by Professor R. G. Trotter. This journal printed in the January number, pp. 278–286, an article by Dr. Pease on the subject of his paper. Professor Trotter's main contention was that anxiety touching the consequences of border difficulties growing out of the American Civil War led the British government to concede confederation even though that might prove the first step toward ultimate independence.

through the building which is rapidly nearing completion. The business meeting of the Conference of Historical Societies suffered from this conflict of interest. Those in attendance, however, agreed to call another meeting in the near future to consider the promotion of a closer organization of those societies able to maintain high standards of work. It was also decided to publish a handbook of historical societies. Julian P. Boyd, assistant librarian of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, was elected chairman for the next year.

It will be recalled that a group of medievalists under the leadership of Professor James F. Willard has for some time been engaged in the cooperative study of the "English Government at Work, 1327–1336". A luncheon conference was devoted to reports of the progress of the work. Professor Willard first called attention to some of the difficulties which beset such an undertaking. Papers were read on "Keepers of Royal Castles", by Dr. Mary Albertson, "The Functions of the Sheriff and the Control of his Office", by Professor William A. Morris, "The King's Council", by Professor James F. Baldwin, and the "Administration of the Royal Forests", by Professor Nellie Neilson.

Another enterprise, this time in charge of the National Park Service, was discussed at a luncheon conference on the "Rehabilitation of Historical Sites". Professor T. J. Wertenbaker in opening the conference remarked upon the urgent necessity of action to preserve historic houses, deploring the loss within recent decades of Bond Castle, Maryland, Rosewell and Sabine Hall, Virginia, the Philadelphia Library, the Brothers' House at Ephrata, and the Amory-Ticknor House in Boston. Mr. B. Floyd Flickinger, superintendent of the Colonial National Monument, explained the principles of restoration adopted for the area involved in the siege of Yorktown and on Jamestown Island. Incidentally he noted that seventy-five archaeological and historical areas were now under the control of the National Park Service.

The sessions on the various fields of history offered many papers which illustrated new points of view or which subjected familiar themes to a fresh analysis. A few only can be mentioned here. In the section on Ancient history, Dr. Ernst Stein, visiting professor at the Catholic University of America, in answering affirmatively the old question "Are we Right in considering the Year 476 as the Turning Point between Ancient and Modern History?" gave certain reasons which were novel at least to the layman. He said, for example, that the sixth century requires a preparation in large measure different from that in the preceding centuries. This is true also of the last quarter of the fifth century,

for at that time a Syriac author, Josua Stylites, appears as one of the principal historical sources. Thenceforward Syriac, Armenian, Coptic, and Arabic sources assume a place of increasing importance.[3] The section on American colonial history gave Dr. Clifford K. Shipton an opportunity to contest the view now so widely held, which pictures the people of Massachusetts and her satellite colonies as unwilling subjects to the rule of a backward clergy, until the removal of the religious qualification for the franchise gave them an opportunity to express their opinion of their masters' bigotry.[4] Another sectional meeting had as its subject the interchange of influences between Europe and America. In the early months of the French Revolution America, which had just set up a new experiment in public liberty, was much on the tongues of reformers. Since that time the growth of the United States has often seemed to the European a disquieting portent.[5] Europe, however, has never ceased to exercise a strong, and quite natural, influence here. Of this European influence Professor Howard Mumford Jones commented in a suggestive paper entitled "The Spread of Nineteenth Century European Ideas in America". The most important element was, he thought, a rationalism, not cosmopolitan, like that of the eighteenth century, but delimited, patriotic, and modified also by the consequences of the religious revival. This influence was not exerted directly from the Continent, but through British writers. A second pole of influence, with the same origin, was the dynamic conception of nature, which preceded the evolutionary hypothesis. One of the most interesting evidences of this is the effort of painters to depict the variety of types and

[3] The other papers in this section were "The Recovery Policy of Diocletian", by Professor C. E. Van Sickle, and "Was Greece Free between 196 and 146 B. C.", by Professor J. A. O. Larsen. Professor Van Sickle found some analogy between Diocletian's "Prosperity from above" plan and certain of the "New Deal" policies. Professor Larsen presented a thoughtful discussion of Rome's position in Greece during the years indicated.

[4] The other two papers emphasized points of view from which certain aspects of the colonial period could be studied to advantage. Professor L. H. Gipson, with the title of the "Approach to the Study of Colonial History from the Maritime Provinces", showed that the history of Nova Scotia illustrated the transition in British colonial policy from mercantilist to imperialistic aims; 1749 was the year when the change first became evident. Professor L. J. Ragatz expressed the idea that writers on the period too often concentrated their attention on the continental colonies, rather than on the islands, and so he urged, as his title suggests, "The West Indian Approach to the Study of Colonial History". Dr. Shipton's paper is printed on later pages of this number.

[5] Professor Gilbert Chinard in a paper entitled "The Cultural Impact of America upon Europe" described the transition in Europe from an earlier, unappreciative view of things American to a more sympathetic attitude. "The 'Americanization' of Europe" was the theme of Professor Bernard Faÿ, of the Collège de France, but he did not think the process had gone, or would go, very far.

forms of life, exhibited in such landscapes as those of Moran and Bierstadt. "The charm of Audubon's bird-pictures for Europeans", remarked Professor Jones, "lay not only in their accuracy, but in their sense of vital life". This dynamic view of life took the form of the doctrine of immanence in the teachings of such religious leaders as Theodore Parker, Horace Bushnell, and Henry Ward Beecher.

The joint sessions with other societies meeting concurrently also dealt with subjects of real interest. The first considered the "Development of Religious Liberty in Colonial America". Mr. J. Moss Ives discussed the Catholic contribution, Dr. P. G. E. Miller, the Protestant, while Professor W. W. Sweet treated the problem from the point of view of American environment. He enumerated four principal elements of influence, the difficulty of restraining radical tendencies in colonies founded by those who themselves had departed from the usual and recognized ways of thought, the desire of great proprietors to make their wilderness estates attractive even to dissenters, the presence of large numbers of minority sects, and the fact that there came to be more unchurched people in America than were to be found anywhere else in Christendom. At the joint session with the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, Professor J. G. Randall discussed the present state of the Lincoln studies.[6] One of the papers presented at the joint sessions with the Agricultural History Society brought out a conflict of policy during the days of the Confederation which has been insufficiently emphasized. The title was "State and Local Policies during the Confederation" and the speaker Mr. Henry Tatter. He showed that the Confederation inherited the land policy of the Board of Trade, a policy which meant centralized control of land sales or disposal, and surveys before settlement. This policy had been one of the causes of the Revolution, for the landed colonies were ready to help the landless pioneers or land speculators. The states continued this attitude after the break with England, but their representatives in the Congress acted upon the principle of centralized control and aimed to utilize the sales of public lands for the extinguishment of the public debt.[7] The program of

[6] At the same session Professor John C. Parish read a paper on "Edmond Atkin, British Superintendent of Indian Affairs", and Professor William O. Lynch on "When Salmon P. Chase was a Democrat".

[7] The two other papers presented were the "Influence of the Spanish Land Grant System on the Agricultural Development of California", by Mr. R. H. Allen, and "Readjustments in Local Government as Part of Land Utilization Program", by Dr. G. S. Wehrwein. The session on Hispanic American History was in effect a joint session, interesting a strong group within the Association. It was held appropriately in the Hall of Heroes of the Pan American Union, for its program dealt with three or four "heroes":

the joint session with the History of Science Society included the following papers: "Puritanism and the New Philosphy in Seventeenth Century England", by Dr. Dorothy Stimson; "Astrology and Politics in the First Years of Elizabeth's Reign", by Dr. Sanford V. Larkey; and the "Origins of Modern Cartography, 1250–1500", by Professor Dana B. Durand.

Luncheons and dinners, especially of sister organizations, were the occasion of other papers and discussions. At the Modern History Dinner Professor Becker as toastmaster made an introductory address in his usual vein of rich suggestiveness, and Professor A. L. Cross entertained the guests with the relations of "Anecdote and History". The Mississippi Valley Historical Association diners heard George Fort Milton expound his conclusions upon the career of Stephen A. Douglas. A luncheon of the Agricultural History Society had as its guest of honor and speaker Secretary Henry A. Wallace. The Mediaeval Academy dined and heard Professor Carl Stephenson talk on "The Political Significance of Feudalism", and Professor S. H. Cross discuss "Medieval Russian Contacts with the West". A luncheon conference on Modern Oriental History listened to Dr. Martin Sprengling on "The New Orient and a New Present".[8] A general luncheon was given to a discussion of the *Conclusions and Recommendations* of the Commission on the Social Studies. It was hoped that the minority of four who did not sign the report would welcome this occasion to present their reasons for dissent. On one account or another they were unable to be present, and the discussion got off for a bad start. At times it promised to be lively, but the assembly was very large and speakers who declined to go forward to the microphone could not be heard easily, so that little progress was made. A smaller group was brought together on the final morning of the sessions and had a more profitable conference. The great occasion of the meeting was the Founders Dinner. Two of the charter members were present, Dr. J. Franklin Jameson and Dr. Clarence W. Bowen, to both of whom the Association has owed much of its success, the one as the wise counselor, with a mind fertile in the suggestion of projects of constructive scholarship, the other the treasurer

"Santa Anna, the Inscrutable", read by Professor W. H. Callcott; "Bolívar and the Church", by Professor Mary Watters; "The Efforts of José Maria Morelos to secure Foreign Aid, 1811–1815", by Professor John C. Patterson; "A Neglected Aspect of Isthmian Diplomacy", by Dr. Joseph B. Lockey.

[8] There was also a luncheon conference of the Bibliographical Society of America and the Association of Research Libraries, which Dr. Leland addressed on "Bibliography and the Humanities".

during the formative and critical years. The three other living founders, Professor Davis R. Dewey, Professor Ephraim Emerton, and Mr. Henry E. Scott, were unable to be present but sent letters of greeting. Dr. Leland was the toastmaster and his witty references to the present chaos showed that the historical mind is still able to view the unexpected with philosophy. He introduced Dr. Jameson as the first speaker and the diners rose to do him honor. Among many interesting reminiscences and comments Dr. Jameson made one remark which showed with what self-forgetful care the business of the Association was transacted. He said that he had been present as an observer or as a member at more than sixty meetings of the Council, and that almost uniformly its decisions were unanimous, so that if a project could not command substantial unanimity it was deferred or abandoned. Dr. Bowen also spoke a few words of greeting. There were brief addresses by Dr. Charles W. Colby, to whom the Association always listens with pleasure, and by Dr. Isaiah Bowman, who spoke on certain curious trade documents which he had discovered in South America. The retiring President, Dr. William E. Dodd, was the last speaker. With great force he reminded the members that in a world where interference with freedom of expression is so common the American historians now had opportunities of leadership and should feel a new sense of responsibility.

The annual business meeting of the Association was held on the last afternoon of the sessions. The Treasurer, Dr. Constantine E. McGuire, the Secretary, Professor Dexter Perkins, and the Executive Secretary, Professor Conyers Read, presented their reports. As his report had already been mailed to the members Dr. McGuire called attention only to certain outstanding problems. He remarked that although the present fiscal year was likely to close with a surplus of somewhat over two thousand dollars the year 1935–1936 would probably show a deficit of about four thousand. This led him to emphasize the need of additional revenue and to urge that the membership consider itself a committee of the whole to bring in new members. The Secretary also said that the "prosperity of the Association depended upon the zealous interest of the members in its development". He commented upon the organization and work of the Executive Committee and voiced the deep satisfaction which the Council felt with the service rendered by the Executive Secretary's office. So strong was the Council's conviction of the value of these services, Professor Perkins added, that provision had been made in the ordinary budget for their continuance in 1935–1936, after the termination of the grant made by the Carnegie Corporation.

He spoke warmly of the fruitful labors of the Commission on the Social Studies in the Schools and expressed the thanks of the Association to Professor A. C. Krey and his associates. In regard to the crisis provoked by the lack of the usual government credit for printing, he said, "Through the energetic and successful efforts of Dr. Jameson and Dr. Stock, and the intercession of Dr. Dodd, provision was made in the Annual Deficiency Bill for the publication of two volumes of that indispensable bibliographical tool, *Writings on American History*". The Executive Secretary gave a résumé of his report, which is printed on later pages of this number. He also called attention to the need of some comprehensive plan of dealing with the whole problem of preserving, listing, and making available the Federal, state, and local archives, and the very valuable source material in private collections.

The winner of the George Louis Beer Prize this year was Dr. Ross J. S. Hoffman, for his volume entitled *Great Britain and the German Trade Rivalry, 1875–1914* (The University of Pennsylvania Press), which was reviewed in the January number of this journal.

The officers chosen for 1935 are: Michael I. Rostovtzeff, president; Charles R. McIlwain, first vice president; Guy Stanton Ford, second vice president; Dexter Perkins, secretary; and Constantine E. McGuire, treasurer. The two new members of the Council are Dumas Malone and William L. Westermann. Nellie Neilson was chosen to fill the vacancy on the Board of Editors caused by the expiration of Verner W. Crane's term.[9]

H. E. B.

[9] For a list of officers and committees, selections from the minutes of the Council, and the Report of the Executive Secretary, see Historical News.

THE WRITING OF AMERICAN HISTORY IN AMERICA, FROM 1884 TO 1934[1]

THE subject which I am to consider is one that has almost completely changed its sphere of activity in the fifty years since 1884. Before that time the prevailing interest of historical writers lay in the colonial and revolutionary periods. Justin Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History,* which appeared soon after the formation of this Association, devoted only three chapters in its eight heavy volumes to the period after 1789. C. K. Adams, who gathered everything great or small to fill the pages of his *Manual of Historical Literature,* issued in 1882, enumerated not over eleven works of any pretensions touching on matters in the mid-nineteenth century and of these seven were concerned primarily with wars. Outside the solid work of the German, Hermann E. von Holst, on the years of the slavery controversy, the history of the United States in the nineteenth century remained to be written. Since that time the slender current of historiography has swelled to a broad river or perhaps, better, into a sort of delta with numberless streams diverging from the parent channel. It is my task to analyze the nature of these various currents and to note their apparent destination.

First to appear, and the first to command our attention, were certain works whose authors undertook to fill the void just indicated by writing general histories after the traditional manner. Two of these had already begun to publish before the year 1884; James Schouler, whose *History of the United States* beginning with the year 1783 first appeared in 1880, and J. B. McMaster, whose *History of the People of the United States,* also beginning in 1783, started its publication in 1883. Each of these works was ultimately carried beyond the Civil War. In 1889, these two were joined by the *History of the United States, 1801–1817,* of Henry Adams; and four years later came the monumental work of J. F. Rhodes, which took the year 1846 as a starting point, and before it stopped had penetrated well into the twentieth century. Finally, after a rather long interval, E. P. Oberholtzer, in 1917, began the publication of a general history on a large scale which started with the year 1865 and progressed through the last third of the nineteenth century. Thus

[1] Read at the session on "A Half-Century of American Historiography, 1884–1934", at the Washington Meeting of the American Historical Association.

the general history of the United States under the Constitution has been covered on broad lines by five historians.

The colonial period, however, though no longer the main theme, has not been ignored, for at least two writers of this type have gone over the ground explored earlier by Bancroft, Hildreth, Doyle, and the others. Edward Channing began in 1905 a general history of the United States, which he ultimately carried from the discoveries down through the Civil War, a longer sweep than any attained by his contemporaries. Still another general history, that of E. M. Avery, started at the same time, went through the colonial and revolutionary period and reached the era of Jefferson.

These men were of the race of narrative historians, traditionally so-called. Their models were the great writers of past ages, or the earlier Americans, such as Bancroft, Prescott, Motley, and Parkman, and they followed the methods habitual with such writers. If one wished to find out what happened, one read all the available material bearing on the past, used one's common sense, and came to a conclusion. Like their predecessors they all, with one exception, took for granted that history was concerned with public affairs and the great currents of political change. Nonpolitical matters they recognized, after the manner of Macaulay, Lecky, or Greene, by occasionally pausing to insert a chapter on social or economic conditions. The exception was McMaster, for he undertook the novel feat of trying to fuse the economic and the social with the political in the effort to create a new and more truly representative form of history. He wished it to suggest by its very lack of formal organization something of the onward sweep of happenings disparate in character. The first among American historical students to make large use of newspapers, he mingled the political, the financial, and the social in his narrative, just as they did in their daily or weekly issues.

History written in the great tradition reflects the personality of its author. If McMaster, pushing forward his mingled narrative, alternated rhetorical passages with pages of lists or quotations; if Schouler plodded methodically through his period, chronicling the administrations year after year; if Rhodes kept his interest constantly focused on men rather than on laws; if Channing chose to emphasize his unconventionality by daring omissions and condensations; and if Adams tended to apply profound psychological insight to the elucidation of diplomacy, they were doing no more than any historian, writing as an individual, was fully entitled to do. And in all of them one common trait overshadowed

their individual varieties, for each was essentially a moralist and did not hesitate to praise or to criticize, to single out individuals for downright censure, to analyze the claims of Presidents, or congressional statesmen, or generals for consideration. This did not, in their minds, run counter to any assumed impartiality. If the writer had read the sources, omitting nothing, and derived from them a definite conclusion as to the rightness or wrongness of a man or an action, it was his duty as a historian to make this clear to the reader. This was done in various ways; with measured judgment by Rhodes, with quiet irony by Adams, with hearty denunciation by Oberholtzer, but in one way or another it stands as a distinguishing mark of all these men.

It was while these authors were publishing that a different kind of historiography was coming into being as a result of the rapid rise of the university movement for technical scholarship. Simultaneously with the founding of the American Historical Association there had come the organization of graduate schools and of seminars for training in research. Within a dozen years this movement had overspread the land, scattering focal centers of activity: within thirty years it had created a new literature. First came the monographs in a rising tide, which steadily mounted to a flood. In series such as the Johns Hopkins University Studies and its later followers at Columbia, Yale, Chicago, and elsewhere, and in countless articles in the proceedings of this Association or of local societies, or in individual brochures, the ambitious Ph.D.'s attacked every problem that could be handled within moderate space, endeavoring to exhaust the sources bearing thereon and to frame a narrative or exposition that should be rigidly accurate, impeccably documented, and absolutely without prejudice. It was to be a "contribution".

Certain institutions, under the stimulus of active-minded professors, became veritable bases for exploration along definite lines. One need only mention the general onslaught on the Reconstruction period which took place at Columbia under the guidance of our former honored associate, Professor Dunning; or the powerful influence exerted at the University of Wisconsin by the seminar of our late colleague, Professor F. J. Turner. This last deserves more than a passing word. Turner's essay entitled "The Significance of the Frontier in American History" was published in 1893. Everyone who read it realized that a method of interpreting American development had been presented which could never thereafter be ignored. What Turner did was to reverse the traditional procedure and to examine the conditions of life existing in communities along the western edge of settlement with a view to tracing

their results in the shape of political habits, institutions, ideals, and social structure. Although he wrote little himself other than monographic studies and left, when he died, but an uncompleted fragment of American history, he cannot be called anything less than one of the major influences in recent American historiography. A whole school of writing derives its origin from him and his inspiration. Likewise, it would be an error to omit mention, in this connection, of the long and unique service to productive scholarship rendered by our surviving honored colleague, Mr. J. F. Jameson, as organizer and director of historical research in his successive positions.

Out of this background of intense professional activity came in due time men whose desire to produce was not exhausted by the publication of a single thesis, but pushed them on into work on a more ambitious scale. This led to the appearance of historical writings of authority and breadth, resembling the monograph in technique but possessing a scope and stature that raised their authors to a standing as historians. To mention even the leading examples from writers of this generation is manifestly impossible. But by citing a few conspicuous instances among the work of men no longer living, yet worthy of remembrance on this occasion, one may not only indicate the type of writing that they represent but also illustrate the extent to which modern historiography has diverged from the earlier preoccupation with political narrative.

In the field of colonial history we find such works as the volumes of G. L. Beer on British colonial policy, coming out between 1893 and 1912; the definitive studies of P. A. Bruce on colonial Virginia, appearing from 1895 to 1910; and the *Mississippi Valley in British Politics* of C. W. Alvord, in 1917, each of which departed widely from the earlier conventional treatment. Then for the Revolution we have the series of writings of C. H. Van Tyne, from 1922 to 1929, recasting and illuminating the familiar story and proving to a surprised world that old straw might be rethreshed with unquestionable profit. Highly important in another direction were the volumes on Southern institutions by U. B. Phillips, *American Negro Slavery,* 1918, and *Life and Labor in the Old South,* 1929—works that substituted direct observation and analysis for propaganda or emotional treatment. In the field of international relations, lacking as yet any authoritative general treatment, we find the period made noteworthy by the appearance of such works as Admiral Mahan's *Sea Power in its Relations to the War of 1812,* in 1905, the volumes by Admiral Chadwick on *Relations of the United States and*

Spain, 1909 to 1911, and the elaborate study by E. D. Adams on *Great Britain and the American Civil War,* in 1925, which stands without a rival for completeness and breadth in this field. Let these serve for representatives of the whole group.

It is interesting to see how sharp a line was drawn by the writers of this "objective" or "scientific" history between their standards and those of the earlier general historians. In the first place they deplored the older writers' preoccupation with public affairs, criticizing them for a conventional and superficial outlook, and finding their writings lacking in comprehension of the actual forces that controlled events. Beyond this the spokesmen of the new school found fault with the moralizing tendencies of the older men, which often led them into an unbecoming partiality. They fastened upon the national patriotism of McMaster and Schouler, upon the anti-Southern tendencies of Rhodes, and upon the New England "parochialism" of Adams and Channing, and they took issue with every judgment upon individuals as exhibiting prejudice. It has, indeed, not infrequently been remarked that impartiality seemed always to lead the new scientific school to praise the figures condemned by Schouler and Rhodes and to point out the flaws in the men of whom they approved. Of course the writers of the historical profession did not all think alike. Men were human. If the nature of the sources made it possible to arrive at differing conclusions, it was natural for men to differ. But it was the historian's business to see that the grounds for his differing were not local feeling, or race, religion, or class prejudice. Against any taint of that kind he must be on his guard or he would risk exposure.

Holding such high ideals of thoroughness and accuracy it was scarcely to be expected that very many of the new race of history writers should attempt a general work after the model of the earlier historians. Among the few who did approach their scope one may single out H. L. Osgood, whose seven volumes on the colonial period certainly do cover a whole field. But his tone and manner remained different; where Bancroft or Palfrey had been literary, moralistic, pictorial, Osgood stayed within the realm of the expository, the analytical and, for the most part, the impersonal.

The way the new generation approached the problem of a general history was through the device, long familiar in Europe, of co-operative production. This had already made an appearance with Hubert Bancroft's enormous *History of the Pacific States,* which began in 1874; and in Justin Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History,* which started in 1885.

Each of these, having no body of university scholars to draw upon, employed perforce such general writers, often untrained, as could be procured. Even as late as 1903 a third co-operative work, the *History of North America* in twenty volumes, eschewed the technique of scholarship and utilized somewhat indiscriminately both university men and others. But the "American Nation", which began to come out in 1904 and ultimately comprised twenty-six volumes, adhered strictly to the monographic form and with very few exceptions drew its contributors from the ranks of university men, trained in the seminars of the new teachers. Coming just twenty years after the founding of the American Historical Association it may be regarded as essentially a reflection of the influence of the founders and their associates upon American historiography. It embodied their ideals and crystallized their attitude upon the substance and the technique of history. It still stands a solid piece of constructive work.

But successive generations of historians are disinclined to rest content with work done by earlier ones. In 1918 there appeared a second co-operative history, the "Chronicles of America", written by a younger group of men, who aimed at something distinctly different from the "American Nation". Suppressing the critical, the technical, and the professional, they aimed to be literary, informal, even popular. It was hoped to reach a wider audience in the postwar years of reaction against what was considered dull and formal. Now, after another interval, a third co-operative work has begun to appear, the "History of American Life" written by a still different group, which expounds a theory of history today somewhat popular. It aims, one may say, to supersede such a work as McMaster's by the almost complete elimination of politics and personalities and the presentation of the changing factors which have gone to make up American social and domestic life in successive epochs. That, they feel, is the real substance of history.

Of all these co-operative works one may say that they are highly useful, but one cannot claim for them either the unity or the authority of the large histories by a single writer. They may be actually better, scientifically, in each separate volume, but they cannot present the same sweep, or coherence, nor keep to the same standards of judgment. Even in the "American Nation", whose devoted editor, Professor A. B. Hart, put forth herculean efforts to induce his contributors to conform to certain critical standards and to include the same general categories of facts, the effect produced tends to be that of a series of separate histories rather than of one history, properly so-called. Able as these books are,

the real contribution of the generations between 1884 and 1934 is to be sought for in the independent works.

At this point mention may properly be made of the subject of biography which is closely allied to history but has, by tradition, a less rigorous standard in certain directions. It is, from the nature of things, written with more attention to literary presentation, more psychological analysis, and an almost unavoidable tendency to defend the personality under consideration from what seem unwarrantable attacks. As a consequence most biographies, even those of political figures, are literary in character. Many such had been written before 1884 and others were to continue to appear during the entire fifty years, most of which made no pretense at technical historical method but frankly aimed at "psychography" or interpretation based on material furnished by others. As a branch of literature they deserve respectful consideration, but from the point of view of this Association they remain almost wholly outside the pale of historical writing. Their more recent examples, even when dealing with sober political figures, are frankly inspired by the spirit of "modern irony" or of Freudian psychology and offer practically nothing that can be termed historical.

But the fifty years since 1884 have also seen the rise of a school of biographical writing which applies the historical technique to personal data and has produced, chiefly within the last twenty-five years, a type of biography leaving nothing to be desired in point of vigor, soundness, and essential fairness and impartiality. Books of this kind have won immediate recognition, not only from the historical profession but from the reading public. While it would be presumptuous to mention any of these on the sole authority of this paper, it may be pardonable to cite, as commanding examples of this type, the biographies recently awarded a certain conspicuous prize—those dealing with such figures as Roosevelt, Cleveland, and Hay. These, and a score of others that might be named, stand as worthy companions of the best work done by their authors, or any other writers in the field of history, conventionally so-called.

We may look then with justifiable satisfaction on the impressive output of sound, creditable, and in many cases masterly, works on American history during the period under review. They are dominated, from monograph to many-volumed work, by one clear-cut ideal—that presented to the world first in Germany and later accepted everywhere, the ideal of the effort for objective truth. The professors who organized the first seminars, their students who disseminated the methods of so-called

scientific historical technique, all felt themselves to be searching for positive evidence and avowed themselves to be controlled in their conclusions by the content of that evidence. Men might differ in their conclusions, but only where the evidence itself permitted alternative hypotheses, and in such cases the effort to approach probability had to be conducted in the open, as it were, and on the basis of actual material. This was and is the intellectual assumption underlying the whole mass of professional historical writing.

One cannot stop at this point, however, content with analyzing the productivity of the historical profession, for the reason that in the last years of the half century, certain tendencies have come into view that directly challenge the intellectual assumption just outlined. Unable to mention all the forms that this challenge has taken, I shall limit myself to sundry conspicuous ones which have this in common, that they deliberately cast aside, for one reason or another, the whole ideal of impersonality and impartiality.

The first and the most conspicuous of these is to be found in connection with the great development of what may be called non-professional history in the twentieth century. While some of it is scholarly in inspiration, a great deal is journalistic or literary and pays scant attention to any of the canons of ordinary historical accuracy. There is nothing esoteric, of course, in the technique or the standards of objective history. A writer does not need to have been trained in a university to handle them with ease, as has been abundantly shown in some of the writings already mentioned, but the fact remains that with most of the works of the kind indicated, the desire for impartiality is entirely absent. Their writers are not, like the older general historians, moralists; they are partisans when they are not sophisticates, ironists, or even "debunkers". Their inspiration is literary and they are writing for a public that is looking for the qualities they display. At the best, they produce works of a high order, such as A. J. Beveridge's *Marshall,* 1916–1919; or J. H. Smith's *War with Mexico,* 1919, which have every merit looked for in historical writing except that of nonpartisanship. At the worst they are little more than sensational muckraking; yet they are all accepted by the general public as history, authentic and authoritative. In such a work as *Twenty Years of the Republic* by H. T. Peck, 1905, the vigorous narrative and bold characterizations simply obscure to the ordinary reader the fact that it is based on scanty materials and has scarcely a trace of critical judgment. No one can deny to "amateur" or journalistic history of this type the ability to be frequently suggestive and at times

convincing, yet the fact remains that it has discarded one of the fundamental tenets of historiography as taught and practiced by the generation which has grown up under the influence of the founders of this Association. It does not consider it necessary to be impartial or even fair; it prefers to be interesting and as a result popular. How long can the younger members of our profession remain unaffected by this situation? Are there not signs that many of them are already becoming affected by it?

More definitely doctrinaire is another type of historical writing which discards impartiality as incompatible with a specific theory of human activity. This is the view that American history, like all history, can and must be explained in economic terms. All historical events, it is held, if properly interpreted, appear as contests of economic classes or sections and in most cases will be found to embody some form of exploitation of the poor by the rich. This idea has its origin, of course, in the Marxian theories, but so illuminating does this concept appear that many writers who are in no sense socialistic do not hesitate to employ it and to do so with the utmost zest. They certainly do direct attention upon aspects of past events which no historian can afford to neglect, but at the same time by adopting this creed they forego all possibility of variety in interpretation or of impartiality in judgment. Take for example the way in which Charles A. Beard, the first and the ablest writer of this school, analyzes the motives of the fathers of the Republic in his work, *Economic Interpretation of the Constitution,* 1913. Former historians had described the struggle over the formation and adoption of the document as a contest between sections ending in a victory of straight-thinking national-minded men over narrower and more local opponents. But Mr. Beard, from a careful examination of the financial circumstances of the men involved, reaches the conclusion that the whole affair was the effort of a well-to-do social class to secure a government that should protect their interests and raise the value of the government obligations in their possession. Nothing is left to the "Federalist", the fountainhead of political thinking on the Constitution, but the status of a collection of verbal arguments to veil the real intentions of the advocates of the ratification of the new document. No one can deny the skill and plausibility with which this interpretation is supported, but no one can fail to see that the formula eliminates the possibility of more than one interpretation and excludes anything like impartiality.

Finally and most significantly there have arisen in the ranks of the historians themselves, from men who have earned deserved prominence

as writers of thoroughly "sound" history, two far-reaching assaults upon the ideal of historic "impartiality". The first came from our former president, James Harvey Robinson, who in 1926 publicly recanted all he had previously accepted as the criteria of good history and demanded that impartiality be abandoned in order that history might become functional. "What onlookers call 'impartial history' and professionals call 'objective' ", he said, "is merely history without an object." "We need", he went on, "a new kind of historian who will utilize the information painfully amassed by the older ones in order to bring it to bear on the quandaries of our life today." This new history, he concluded, should be "the sovereign solvent of prejudice and the necessary preliminary to readjustment and reform". In short his contention was that history, in and of itself, was without meaning.

A later holder of the same office, Mr. Beard, used his economic theory of history as the basis of a still more sweeping attack. A year ago he summarily brushed aside the Ranke conception of impersonal search for truth as a mere outgrowth of the desire of the ruling classes in Germany, with whom Ranke was affiliated, to consolidate their position. In fact, he contended, the ideal of impartiality was an impossibility. "Every student of history knows", he went on, "that his colleagues have been influenced . . . by their biases, prejudices, beliefs, affections, general upbringing, and experience, particularly social and economic". Therefore his conclusion was that the "Ranke formula of history has been discarded and laid away in the museum of antiquities". The utmost he would grant to the historical method was an ancillary value in getting at facts. The real test of history, he contended, was the largeness of the philosophy which is found to underlie it. To Mr. Beard himself the only valid history was that which traced the forward movement of society toward a collectivist democracy. That or some similar act of faith is all that makes history worth while. To discover causation is pure illusion: to offer any other interpretation than one based on a bold philosophy is to leave history to be the prey of prejudice.

This is not, of course, the place to discuss these strictures. What is significant and highly interesting is that at the end of fifty years of historical work the fundamental ideals that underlay it are positively rejected. A nonpartisan search for the truth, as far as it is discoverable from the frail human material on which all history rests, is declared to be impossible and, in fact, undesirable. That active-minded and forward-looking men should entertain these views is not in itself any cause for surprise or regret. The human mind is fully entitled to subject the

fundamental concepts of any human process to analysis and if the ideal cannot sustain the attack, the time has come to revise it. There is, however, a disquieting thought that persists in forcing itself to our consciousness when reflecting on the ease with which a growing number of writers discard impartiality on the ground that it is uninteresting, or contrary to social beliefs, or uninstructive, or inferior to a bold social philosophy. There are today countries where history, under the sway of precisely these ideals, has become so functional that it is systematically employed as a means for educating people to think as the ruling authorities wish them to do. We have Soviet history, and Fascist history, and we are to have National Socialist history as soon as it can be manufactured—in each case based on a definite philosophy as an act of faith.

That history in this country may undergo similar control is by no means unthinkable. We have already had our troubles with "Confederate" history and "patriotic" history demanded by communities as a result of the passionate conviction of groups in our society that history must necessarily be a method of indoctrinating those who study it. This Association itself has gone on record as condemning the so-called "pure history" agitation in our public school administration as an interference with the freedom of learning. Such an attitude toward history, moreover, is not confined to the Sons of the Revolution, or the American Legion, or to Irish-Americans, German-Americans, or Pacifists, or members of the Navy League, or defenders of the Constitution. It has for some time been active in school theorizing. I myself heard one man prominent in the study of secondary education say, "Tell me the kind of citizen you wish to have and I will arrange the kind of school history needed to produce him." From this it is a very short step to history as written or taught in Italy, Russia, or Germany—history as a social or rather a political tool.

It may be that another fifty years will see the end of an era in historiography, the final extinction of a noble dream, and history, save as an instrument of entertainment, or of social control will not be permitted to exist. In that case, it will be time for the American Historical Association to disband, for the intellectual assumptions on which it is founded will have been taken away from beneath it. My hope is, none the less, that those of us who date from what may then seem an age of quaint beliefs and forgotten loyalties, may go down with our flags flying.

THEODORE CLARKE SMITH.

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CASTLE-GUARD

WHILE the importance of the part played by castles in feudal England has long been recognized by historians, comparatively little attention has been paid to the arrangements which were made for garrisoning these fortresses. Since its appearance in 1902, J. H. Round's article in the *Archaeological Journal* has been the standard authority on the subject.[1] In a recent chapter on "Castles and Castle-Guard" Professor Stenton brought to light some new material, but he made no significant addition to the work of Round whose general conclusions he accepted.[2] The failure of these two scholars to use the invaluable material in the Hundred Rolls makes their results far from comprehensive. Round's central thesis will not bear examination in the light of the evidence now available. The whole subject is far more complex and hence far more interesting than either Round or Professor Stenton realized. It therefore seems worth while to survey all the evidence available in print in the hope of answering the obvious questions—what were the feudal arrangements for the custody of royal and baronial castles and on what bases were the original castle-guard services commuted to money payments. In order to simplify a highly complicated subject, I shall restrict myself to the services owed by knightly tenants and omit all discussion of tenure by sergeanty.

Reasonably clear evidence of castle-guard obligations owed by tenants by knight service exists for at least forty-two English castles.[3] In the case of nine more it is not quite certain whether knight service or sergeanty was involved.[4] Of the forty-two, eleven were royal and thirty-one baronial—placing in the latter group such castles as Wallingford and Tickhill which were supported by single honors even though

[1] J. H. Round, "Castle Guard", *Archaeological Journal*, LIX (1902), pp. 144–159.

[2] F. M. Stenton, *The First Century of English Feudalism, 1066–1166* (Oxford, 1932), pp. 190–215. As he was dealing with the period 1066–1166, Professor Stenton was obviously under no obligation to make a complete survey of later material.

[3] Aldford, Alnwick, Arundel, Banbury, Belvoir, Brecknock, Chester, Clifford, Clun, Cortham, Devizes, Dodleston, Dover, Eye, Farnham, Hastings, Kington, Lancaster, Launceston, Ledbury, Lincoln, Montgomery, Newcastle upon Tyne, Northampton, Norwich, Pevensey, Plympton, Prudhoe, Richmond, Rochester, Rockingham, Salisbury, Shrawardine, Skipsea, Skipton, Tickhill, Trematon, Wallingford, Warwick, Wem, Whitchurch, Windsor.

[4] Bamburgh, Baynard, Canterbury, Framlingham, Hedingham, Knockin, Peak, Stogursey, Wigmore.

they were commonly in the king's hands. But while the evidence is sufficient to show the extensive existence of arrangements by which a baron's tenants guarded his castle, material which might illuminate the actual mechanism of the system is extremely scanty. Only for Richmond and Hastings is full information available and because of their strategic importance these fortresses can hardly be considered as typical baronial strongholds. Usually a whole knight's fee was bound to supply a completely equipped horseman for forty days in a year. In some cases it is stated that the service was due only in time of war, while in others it seems to have been exacted every year. For fractions of fees adjustments were made either in the duration or the quality of service. Thus a half fee might owe twenty days service instead of forty or a sergeant instead of a knight for the full period.[5] Except in the case of castles supported by very large baronies these services, even if exacted every year, could furnish only an insignificant permanent garrison. At Clun, an exposed post in the Welsh marches, the lord of Hopton owed one knight for the entire year and another for forty days. The other six and one half fees owing ward at Clun would bring the garrison up to two knights or their equivalent in sergeants for some three hundred days in the year.[6] In short, at forty days service per fee it would require nine fees to supply a single knight as a permanent garrison. The average baron must have been forced to entrust the peacetime defense of his castle to the porter, the watchman, and one or two of his household knights while his tenants were bound to supply a more adequate force in time of war.

When the strategic importance of a baronial castle made a strong permanent garrison necessary, the term of service was increased as at Richmond and Hastings. A twelfth century list of the fees owing castle-guard duty at Richmond shows that the garrison was maintained by one hundred and eighty-six knights who were divided into six groups each of which served two months. These groups varied in strength from twenty-six to forty-two knights, the larger ones serving in the summer months when the danger from Scottish raids was greatest.[7] Hastings was guarded by the sixty knights of the count of Eu's honor. They were divided into four wards each of which served for a month three times

[5] *Rotuli hundredorum* (Record Commission), II, 55–58, 64, 76–77, 81, 232, 235–236, 707–708. *Calendar of Inquisitions post Mortem* (Rolls Series), I, 279; III, 173; IV, 10. *Book of Fees* (Rolls Series), p. 740.

[6] *Rot. Hund.*, II, 77. *Book of Fees*, p. 963. *Cal. Inq. p. Mortem*, I, 280.

[7] *Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous*, I, 167–168. The inquisition was made under Henry III, but the first list given, no. 519, belongs to the middle of the twelfth century.

a year. Apparently in consideration of this very heavy castle-guard duty the knights were released from all service outside the rape of Hastings except at the lord's cost.[8] Thus the permanent garrisons of Richmond and Hastings averaged thirty-one and fifteen knights respectively.

In the case of certain royal castles a strong regular garrison was provided by combining the service due from a number of baronies. The best example is that of the great fortress of Dover, which was considered the key to England. Nine baronies were responsible for its custody. The largest of these, the constable's honor of Haughley, consisted of fifty-six knights' fees which were divided into thirteen groups of four or five. Each of these groups is marked *unum mensem* on a list in the *Red Book of the Exchequer,* which seems to indicate a month's service in the castle. On this basis the constable's barony alone would supply a permanent garrison of four or five knights, each of whom served a month of four weeks. Then five baronies varying in size from fourteen to twenty-four fees were each made to furnish an approximately equal amount of service by forcing some tenants to perform their ward two or three times a year. In this way each barony furnished about thirty-nine periods of service. Finally, enough fees were taken from three other baronies to form another group of thirty-nine service periods.[9] As each of these six groups of thirty-nine periods of ward could obviously furnish three knights to join the constable's monthly contingent, the total permanent garrison of Dover was twenty-two or twenty-three knights.

The royal castle of Norwich was cared for by a similar group of fiefs. The bishops of Norwich and Ely and the abbot of St. Edmunds each owed forty knights, the barony of Rye thirty-five, the barony of Peche twenty, the barony of Wormegay probably fifteen, and the barony of Kentwell ten.[10] Unfortunately only in the case of the honor of St. Edmunds is there evidence as to how the ward was actually performed. The abbot's forty knights were divided into four constabularies each of which served ninety days in the year. There is some reason for believing that originally the whole service owed by a knight was done at one stretch, and that this was later changed to allow a month of duty three

[8] *Cal. Inq. p. Mortem,* VII, 427. *Red Book of the Exchequer,* Hubert Hall, ed. (Rolls Series), pp. 622–623.

[9] *Red Book,* pp. 706–712.

[10] *Cal. Inq. p. Mortem,* I, 11; II, 116; III, 222; IV, 169; VI, 50; VII, 176; VIII, 96. *Book of Fees,* pp. 1324–1329. Sir William Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum* (London, 1846), I, 482.

times a year.[11] If the above list of baronies owing ward at Norwich is correct and if the obligations of each were proportionate to those of St. Edmunds, the permanent garrison of the castle consisted of fifty knights. The Conqueror's well-known fear of Scandinavian invasions would account for this extremely generous provision for the defense of the principal stronghold of East Anglia. Henry I's release of the knights of the bishop of Ely from their service at Norwich certainly indicates that he considered the garrison more than adequate for the needs of his day.[12]

While it is perfectly clear that the same sort of arrangements provided for the custody of Lincoln, Newcastle upon Tyne, Northampton, Rochester, Rockingham, Salisbury, and Windsor, the most one can do is to identify the baronies which owed ward, and in several cases not even that is possible. Round has done this for Rochester, Rockingham, and Windsor.[13] In the case of Rockingham I suspect that the Ridel-Basset barony of fifteen fees should be added to Round's list to bring the total to the neat figure of one hundred and twenty.[14] The baronies which guarded Newcastle are listed in the *Red Book of the Exchequer*.[15] The constable's fief of La Haye certainly owed ward at Lincoln, and Professor Stenton is probably correct in assuming that at least part of the knights of the bishop of Lincoln did service there.[16] At Northampton only the Fitz Hamon and Chokes baronies, each of fifteen fees, can be identified with any confidence.[17] In 1166 the earl of Salisbury and Walter Waleran admitted that they owed twenty and five knights respectively for the custody of Salisbury castle, and at least one of the bishop of Salisbury's fees did ward there. A thirteenth-century list in the Hundred Rolls which adds the abbesses of Wilton and Shaftesbury, the Dunstanville barony, and several others is rendered doubtful by an earlier statement in the same source that no fees owed ward at Salisbury castle.[18] Despite the fairly full evidence on the baronies assigned to some of these royal castles, in most cases the lack of detailed

[11] *Feudal Documents from the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds*, D. C. Douglas, ed. (London, 1932), pp. lxxxvi-lxxxvii, 84. *Cronica Jocelini de Brakelonda*, J. G. Rokewode, ed. (Camden Society, no. 13, 1840), pp. 49–50. Compare Jocelin's account with Stephen's charter.

[12] *Monasticon*, I, 482.

[13] *Op. cit.*

[14] *Rot. Hund.*, I, 237. *Cal. Inq. p. Mortem*, VIII, 469.

[15] *Red Book*, p. 606.

[16] *English Feudalism*, p. 212. *Cal. Inq. p. Mortem*, VII, 223.

[17] *Ibid.*, VI, 36, 90, 313; VIII, 222, 463. *Rot. Hund.*, I, 25–31.

[18] *Ibid.*, II, 238, 268. *Red Book*, pp. 236, 240, 242.

information about the system in use makes it impossible to estimate the size of the garrisons provided. If I am correct in my belief that at Windsor and Rockingham the knights owed forty days service a year,[19] the garrisons of those castles must have been eight and thirteen or fourteen respectively.

The twenty-ninth article of Magna Carta raises a most interesting question about these arrangements for the custody of the king's castles. It implies that castle-guard service was, at least in the eyes of the rebellious barons, an alternative rather than an addition to regular service in the host. In 1224 the regency acted in conformity with this principle when it released from their turn of duty at Lancaster castle certain vassals of the honor of Lancaster who had participated in the siege of Bedford.[20] There is evidence to show that this claim was not entirely new in 1215. In 1166 Earl Patrick of Salisbury stated that he owed forty knights to the king's army and twenty to the custody of Salisbury castle. Walter Waleran acknowledged twenty and five in the same categories. The earls of Salisbury seem to have made good their claim as they never paid scutage on the twenty extra fees, but the Waleran barony, despite at least one fine made with the king, usually paid on the full twenty-five fees.[21] In the inquest of 1212 Hugh de Balliol claimed to hold his barony of Bywell for five fees, although he admitted that he owed thirty knights to the ward of Newcastle. As his barony usually paid scutage on thirty fees, his claim does not seem to have been allowed.[22] The list of scutages and fines paid in lieu of military service shows that in general the kings did not admit that castle-guard duty could take the place of service in the host.[23]

Before the close of the twelfth century the king and his barons began to commute into money payments the whole or part of the castle-guard services owed by their vassals. Round was particularly interested in this process. He believed that the tenants were required to pay an amount sufficient to hire a substitute to perform their service. A study of the rates of commutation at Dover and Windsor convinced him that they were based on a wage of eight pence a day for a knight. As this was the standard pay during most of the reign of Henry II, he concluded that the rates must have been established under that monarch. The

[19] *Cal. Inq. p. Mortem,* II, 284; VII, 324–325.

[20] *Rotuli litterarum clausarum,* T. D. Hardy, ed. (Record Commission), I, 606.

[21] *Red Book,* pp. 58, 73, 89, 152–153, 240, 242, 482. *Pipe Roll 14 Henry II,* Pipe Roll Society, XII, 160. *Pipe Roll 2 Richard I, ibid.,* XXXIX, 123.

[22] *Pipe Roll 14 Henry II, ibid.,* XII, 172. *Red Book,* p. 563.

[23] *Rotuli de oblatis et finibus,* T. D. Hardy, ed. (Record Commission), pp. 127–173.

available evidence tends to support Round's belief that the process of commuting castle-guard services into money payments began in the time of Henry II. A charter of the first year of Richard I shows that the knights of Peterborough owing ward at Rockingham castle were allowed to commute their service in time of peace. A document of 1198–1199 gives the castle-guard dues owed to Dover, Eye, Norwich, and Richmond by various Norfolk tenants. Finally a list of the wards owed to Richmond castle by the Yorkshire tenants of its honor early in the thirteenth century indicates that their service had been commuted at the rate of one half mark per fee.[24]

Unfortunately Round's reasoning is not as convincing as his result. His whole theory is based on the assumption that a knight paid whatever was needed to hire a substitute to perform his service. This he sought to establish by a study of the systems in operation at Dover and Windsor. Round concluded, and he had at least one excellent piece of evidence to support his view, that the regular period of guard service at Dover was fifteen days, and hence the ten shillings paid as commutation would hire a substitute at eight pence a day. But the evidence indicating a fifteen day period of service at Dover seems to me far too weak to stand up against the fact that the knights of the honor of Haughley were divided into thirteen groups and each group carefully labeled *unum mensem* on the *Red Book* list. Then in the same list under the ward of Crevequer are found several irregular *tenementa*. One of these paid twenty shillings in commutation of a twenty day service period performed three times a year.[25] As a full fee doing ward three times paid thirty shillings, this indicates a regular service period of thirty days. Obviously a knight could not hire an eight pence a day substitute for thirty days for ten shillings. In the case of Windsor, where the rate of commutation was twenty shillings a fee, Round's theory demands a ward of thirty days. There is no satisfactory evidence as to the period of service exacted from those who owed castle-guard at Windsor. Round's thirty day term is supported, as he admits, only by its mathematical convenience for his theory. One entry in the *Inquisitions post Mortem* strongly indicates a forty day service at Windsor.[26] Considering that of the fifteen English castles where the

[24] *Calendar of Charter Rolls, 1327–1341* (Rolls Series), p. 277. *Book of Fees*, pp. 1324–1329. *Cal. Inq. Miscellaneous*, I, 168–169. The two lists given in numbers 520 and 521 are approximately contemporary with the returns dated 1210–1212 and 1211–1212 in the *Red Book*.

[25] *Red Book*, pp. 706–707, 711.

[26] VII, 324–325.

term of castle-guard can be definitely established thirteen show a ward of forty days, the burden of proof seems to fall on the advocates of the thirty day period. In short, while it is impossible to disprove Round's conclusions in respect to Dover and Windsor, his theory that in the case of these two castles a knight's commutation payment was sufficient to hire a substitute to perform his service appears decidedly tenuous.

The conviction that the rate of commutation did not in general suffice to replace the service becomes stronger as one examines other castle-guard dues. Unfortunately there are very few castles at which both the yearly service period and the rate of commutation can be established with reasonable certainty. While it is clear that the knights of the count of Eu originally owed ninety days service per year at Hastings, the exact rate of commutation is uncertain. Fourteenth century figures for the total castle-guard payments and for the shares assigned to each of the four wards indicate a rate of one half mark per fee, while records of the obligations of individual tenants point to one of ten shillings sixpence. One is tempted to suggest that John of Brittany, who held the honor of Hastings under Edward III, reduced the rate to correspond to that charged the Yorkshire tenants of his honor of Richmond.[27] But as the pay of a knight for ninety days at eight pence comes to sixty shillings, the higher of these rates would be utterly insufficient to replace the actual service. Again Jocelin de Brakelond shows that the king received from the abbot of St. Edmunds nine shillings in commutation of the ninety days ward at Norwich owed by each of the forty fees of his *servitium debitum*.[28] Finally, if the evidence indicating a forty day service at Rockingham is to be relied on, the commutations paid there were equally insufficient. The barony of Odell paid six shillings per fee; that of Wardon five, and the abbey of Peterborough four.[29] In none of these cases did the castle-guard payments approach what was necessary in order to hire substitutes at the lowest wage suggested by Round.

A general survey of the dues exacted at other English castles tends to support this conclusion. Except for the thirty shillings paid by the fees which owed three wards a year at Dover, the highest rate was twenty shillings at Devizes and Windsor. The Northumbrian strongholds of Alnwick and Prudhoe received one mark per fee from their tenants and Rochester twelve shillings. The rate at Tickhill was ten shillings, but an

[27] *Cal. Inq. p. Mortem*, I, 75; II, 134, 214–215; VII, 427; VIII, 232.

[28] Jocelin de Brakelond, pp. 49–50.

[29] *Cal. Inq. p. Mortem*, II, 207–208, 284; IX, 108. *Cal. Charter Rolls, 1327–1341*, p. 277.

extra eight pence was paid to furnish food for the watch. The baronies owing guard at Northampton and the fees of the honors of Lancaster and Richmond which lay outside Lancashire and Richmondshire paid ten shillings. At Norwich the rate varied. The fees of the bishop of Norwich and of the baronies of Kentwell, Rye, and Wormegay seem to have paid between six and seven shillings. If the extremely scanty evidence for the barony of Peche is to be trusted, its fees paid at the very meager rate of three shillings seven pence. The knights of the honor of Eye, again on rather slight evidence, appear to have paid sums ranging from one shilling eight pence to three shillings four pence per fee.[30] As all the available evidence points to thirty or forty days as the usual term of service, these rates vary from insufficient to ridiculous from the point of view of supplying funds for hiring substitutes.

One reason for this situation seems obvious. It is quite conceivable that tenants owing castle-guard refused to commute their services at the prevailing rate of pay. Expeditions to Wales, Ireland, Scotland, and France were costly and dangerous, and a knight might well be willing to secure his release by a scutage payment of two marks that would hire a substitute for forty days. But guard duty in a castle must have been far less arduous. There was little or no danger attached to it and it involved, usually at least, a comparatively short journey. Consider, for instance, the question of the food needed during the term of service. We have ample evidence of the cash loans required to support themselves by the feudal tenants who followed King John to Ireland in 1210.[31] When, however, the knight was on castle-guard duty, he could ordinarily supply himself from his own manors. In this connection it is interesting to notice that the tenants of the honor of Richmond whose lands lay outside Yorkshire paid ten shillings per fee as against the half mark owed by the knights of Richmondshire.[32] In short I believe that the rate of commutation was the result of a bargain between the lord and his tenants. The more onerous the obligations, the more the lord could persuade his

[30] *Rot. Hund.*, I, 25; II, 236. *Red Book*, pp. 716–717. Round, *op. cit.*, pp. 158–159 *Book of Fees*, pp. 1148, 1150, 1324–1329. *Cal. Inq. p. Mortem*, I, 11; II, 116, 139–140, 210–221, 291; III, 222, 469; IV, 65, 169; V, 264, 316; VI, 50, 379–380; VII, 67–68, 176; VIII, 96, 222, 463.

[31] *Rotuli de liberate ac de misis et praestitis*, T. D. Hardy, ed. (Record Commission), pp. 174–226.

[32] *Cal. Inq. p. Mortem*, II, 210–221. Although it is not quite certain that tenants supported themselves while on castle-guard duty, it seems probable that such was the general rule. In a number of cases the evidence clearly indicates that they did. Only in respect to a tenant's service at Aldford in Chester can I find the definite statement that the lord paid the expenses.

vassals to pay in commutation, but I doubt if the payments were ever sufficient to hire substitutes to perform the original service. Even at the low rates which were established the tenants seem to have been inclined to prefer performance of their castle-guard duty to payment of the commutation. Richard's charter to Peterborough and Magna Carta suggest this very strongly. While baronial dislike of John's foreign mercenaries may have had something to do with this provision of Magna Carta, I believe that the main motive was economic.

Obviously in time of peace the lord of a castle would prefer to receive money instead of service. The difficulty of enforcing the due attendance of the feudal tenants must have been enormous. The mercenary garrison made possible by the castle-guard payments might be small, but it was permanent and reliable. But in time of war a far larger force would be needed to secure the safety of the fortress. How could the lord obtain an adequate wartime garrison without imposing an intolerable burden on his exchequer? A possible solution of this problem may be found by examining the system in operation at the Wiltshire castle of Devizes. About twenty fees were assigned to the custody of this stronghold. Each full fee owed the service of a knight in the castle for forty days in time of war, and each half fee owed a sergeant for the same period. In time of peace, however, each full fee paid twenty shillings a year and each half fee ten shillings. The Hundred Rolls state that Devizes could be held for twenty-five marks in time of peace—a sum comfortably within that provided by the castle-guard payments if the latter were duly enforced.[33] Thus a combination of guard service and money payments provided Devizes with a fair sized garrison in war and a small permanent one in peace. I can find only one clear instance of a similar system elsewhere. King Richard agreed to acquit the knights of the abbey of Peterborough of the four shillings a fee which they were accustomed to render for the ward of Rockingham castle in time of peace if they chose to perform their service as they had in the reign of Henry I.[34] This seems to prove that sometime after the death of the latter king the abbey had been allowed, or more probably compelled, to commute its service in peace time. The conclusion that Richard still expected the knights to perform their guard duty in time of war seems inescapable. An extensive use of this distinction between services due in peace and in war is indicated by one of the articles of inquiry in the Hundred Rolls—"Of the castles of the lord king, that is . . . what wards are owed in time

[33] *Rot. Hund.*, II, 236.

[34] *Cal. Charter Rolls, 1327–1341*, p. 277.

of peace and what in time of war."[35] An arrangement such as those described above must have been ideal from the king's point of view. It furnished money for a small mercenary garrison in time of peace and yet supplied an adequate force to safeguard the castle in wartime. I should like to suggest the possibility that other early commutations of castle-guard service may have been made on this same basis.

Although the sparsity of evidence makes dogmatic statements impossible and generalizations dangerous, I wish to offer a tentative summary of the history of castle-guard service. During the first century after the Conquest, feudal arrangements provided strong permanent garrisons for the seats of large baronies and royal castles which were cared for by groups of baronies. As the internal condition of the country grew more peaceful, the king and his barons found these garrisons unnecessarily large in time of peace. Meanwhile the feudal castle-guard obligations became more difficult to enforce as their necessity grew less evident. As a result, the lord of a castle was inclined to commute his tenants' services in time of peace at the highest rate that he could persuade them to pay. With this money he could hire a small, reliable mercenary garrison. This process seems to have started during the reign of Henry II. At first, however, the king and his great barons probably continued to insist that their tenants perform their service in time of war. This was true to some extent at least during the baronial wars of the mid-thirteenth century. Later, possibly at the time of the general collapse of the feudal military system, the actual performance of castle-guard duty ceased, and the commutation payments became ordinary rents.

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[35] *Rot. Hund.*, II, 68.

NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

A Plea for Puritanism

A dozen years ago, James Truslow Adams by a brilliant and convincing essay on New England history popularized the old thesis that a bigoted clergy tyrannized over Massachusetts and her satellite colonies until the people, angered by the persecution of the Quakers and the Salem witches, overthrew the theocracy. Several of our leading historians whose special fields of interest and knowledge lie elsewhere have been deceived by the logic of this thesis and in the common textbooks have given it the sanction of their names.

In the space allotted to me [1] I cannot deal with the entire question, so I shall center my attention on the keystone of the argument—the clergy themselves in what is supposed to have been their lowest period, the years between King Philip's War and the Great Awakening.

The standard argument assumes that the influence which the clergy enjoyed under the old charter was unpopular, and that when the religious requirement for the franchise was removed in 1691, the oppressed masses, to quote Mr. Adams, "made good their right to believe as they would and live their lives as they chose" by using the ballot to overthrow the theocracy.[2] As a matter of fact, after the fall of Andros two popularly elected conventions voted to return to the old Massachusetts charter government; and when the councilors of the new province gathered for the first time, they found that forty-six per cent of their number had sat seven years before in the old court of assistants. That was a smaller turnover than had taken place in the last seven years under the old charter and certainly indicates no desire for a change of leadership. The new general court at once re-enacted the fundamental statutes of the old government, and in 1701 gave the ministers a larger voice in town affairs than they had enjoyed under the so-called theocracy. In like manner New Hampshire, far from rejoicing in the enforced separation from Massachusetts, twice expressed its sorrow at what recent writers have called its "liberation".[3]

[1] The paper was read at a session of the American Historical Association, Dec. 29, 1934.

[2] *The Founding of New England* (Boston, 1922), p. 450. See also Homer C. Hockett, *Political and Social Growth of the United States* (New York, 1933), p. 120; Marcus W. Jernegan, *The American Colonies* (New York, 1929), p. 160; Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker, *The First Americans* (American Life series, New York, 1927), pp. 108–109.

[3] Jeremy Belknap, *History of New-Hampshire* (Boston, 1792), I, 178.

Mr. Adams assumes that the old charter government was unpopular, assumes that the clerical influence was overthrown by the newly enfranchised masses, and proceeds to the logical conclusion that the clergy made great efforts to restore the old system under which they had enjoyed so much power. By common consent Increase Mather is held to have been the soul of the theocracy, as the old charter is held to have been its foundation. But he and his son Cotton maintained that the new charter, the adoption of which is regarded as marking the end of the rule of the clergy, was a far better document, containing, they said, "New and more Ample Privileges; Without which, the Old would not have been Sufficient".[4] Had the enfranchisement of non-church members had the significance that modern writers give to it, Increase Mather, astute politician that he was, would not have praised the new charter and claimed the glory of having obtained it; he would have proved conclusively that some of his numerous enemies were responsible for it. Indeed for the next fifty years, the clergy united in praising the new charter, while the popular political party did its best to have restored the old one on which the theocracy had rested. The new electorate, far from being indifferent or liberal in matters of religion, insisted that every politician from Elisha Cooke to James Otis assume the cloak of fundamentalism. The house of representatives was the tool with which the religious conservatives tried to dislodge the Leverett-Colman group from the college, and it was the house, not the clergy, which was anxious to force Congregational preachers on Baptist and Quaker towns. Neither the mass of the voters nor any important group of the upper class was anti-clerical. The group of parson-baiting skeptics which Mr. Adams hails as typical of the new age, was a small and uninfluential minority which drops from sight after the exile of Jim Franklin. The failure of the *Courant* and the fact that no attempt was made to revive it, even after the collapse of censorship, shows that its critical stand was unpopular—and unprofitable.

The picture of the Mathers attempting to regain their lost influence by depriving the individual churches of their congregational liberty is another logical reconstruction. The pamphlets of John Wise are well known; but all of the recent writers who praise him as the champion of liberty have followed Mr. Parrington in disdaining to read Increase Mather's writings on the subject. His *Disquisition concerning Ecclesias-*

[4] *Andros Tracts* (Prince Society, 1868–1874), III, 155, 169–173; Cotton Mather, *Diary* (Massachusetts Historical Society, *Collections*, ser. 7, vols. VII-VIII), I, 148. The Mathers are the ministers most frequently cited in this paper, not because they were more liberal than their fellows, but because they are the best known and most often maligned.

tical Councils, to take the best example, shows him to have been much nearer to Wise than to Pemberton, Colman, and the other young ministers who were the real power behind the movement which Wise opposed. One of their chief purposes, as a study of their policies shows, was to strengthen the hands of the ministers and to check the growth of the institution of lay elders, who, being older men and usually uneducated, bitterly opposed the efforts of the young clergy to introduce the halfway covenant and otherwise ameliorate the religious order.

It is frequently said that the decline in the influence of the New England clergy was due largely to popular resentment against their bigoted persecution of the religious minorities. When we weigh the responsibility for the hanging of the Quakers in early Boston, we should not forget the violence of the mob against them after the ministers and the Puritan magistrates had accepted them, nor should we ignore the popular petitions for the enforcement of the laws.[5] In the years which followed, the clergy with frequency and vigor censured the zeal which had, Cotton Mather said, "sent the mad quakers unto the gallows instead of bedlam".[6] In the period with which we are dealing, John Callender, a Baptist, seems to have been the only preacher to offer excuses for the early persecutions. Cotton Mather time and again denounced them. In speaking before the general court in 1709 he laid down two fundamental axioms of government which he put in bold-faced type in the printed sermon. One was, "No man may be Persecuted, because he is Conscienciously not of the same Religious Opinion, with those that are uppermost".[7]

By the time of the Great Awakening, Massachusetts had taken the Baptist, Quaker, and Anglican churches into the religious establishment where they had every legal privilege which the Congregationalists enjoyed, including the use of the civil arm to collect their rates, if they wished. This religious system, far more liberal than that prevailing in Virginia to the time of the Revolution, was adopted with the hearty support of the Puritan clergy. In preaching an election sermon, a sort of keynote address for the coming session of the general court which was to consider such legislation, Israel Loring said: "Unity of the Faith is not to be expected, till we get to Heaven. . . . By all Means, let us espouse generous Principles; let us breathe a catholick Spirit; let us be one with every one, that is one with Jesus Christ; whether they be

[5] Massachusetts Archives, Ecclesiastical Affairs volumes, *passim.*

[6] Cotton Mather, *Optanda* (Boston, 1692), pp. 42–45.

[7] *Theopolis Americana* (Boston, 1710), p. 29.

Lutherans, or Calvinists, Episcopalians, or Presbyterians, Congregationalists, or Antipœdobaptists; or whatever other Denomination they may be of."[8]

Loring was a country parson of the old generation, always to be found among the most conservative ministers. From the writings of the younger clergy one could cull scores of pages of praise of religious toleration, but not, at least among the hundreds of sermons I have scanned, one word against it. From the funeral sermons they preached and the obituary notices they contributed to the papers, it is clear that they considered no virtue more laudable or more common among parsons than what they called "a liberal and catholic mind in matters of religion". Cotton Mather praised the new charter provisions for a "Righteous and Generous Liberty of Conscience",[9] and when the Boston mob became excited over the manufacture of a popish image in the town, it was he who tried to quiet them by saying that it was only "an ornamental Business".[10] Yet Mr. Parrington asserted that Mather did not have "a grain of liberalism in his make-up".[11]

Between 1680 and 1740 there were 500 Puritan ministers in New England. We have sufficient data regarding 400 of these to enable us to judge of their relations with the laymen who were taxed to pay their salaries. This material shows that practically without exception the parsons were more liberal than the people. Most of them were educated at Harvard College where a "free and Catholick aire" was a boast even under the presidency of Increase Mather,[12] and where Episcopal and Quaker students were welcome a century and a half before Dissenters were admitted to degrees at Oxford and Cambridge. The principle of an Index of Prohibited Books was abhorrent to them. The quotations in their sermons and the inventories of their libraries show that they read the works of Catholic writers from the earliest fathers to Pascal, whom Ebenezer Pemberton publicly praised as "One of the greatest Masters of Thought".[13] They read and corresponded with the liberal Anglican bishops whom George Whitefield and the generality of the Episcopal clergy here expected to be damned for their heresies. They

[8] *The Duty of an Apostatizing People* (Boston, 1737), p. 67.

[9] *Andros Tracts*, III, 170.

[10] *Diary*, II, 445.

[11] Vernon Louis Parrington, *The Colonial Mind* (*Main Currents of American Thought*, New York, 1927), p. 113.

[12] Ebenezer Turell, *Life and Character of the Reverend Benjamin Colman* (Boston, 1749), pp. 136–137.

[13] *The Divine Original* (Boston, 1710), p. 1.

followed with sympathy the Pietist movement in Germany and even dipped into the Deists. It was inevitable that they should be far more liberal than the scantily educated masses. Against the resistance of the lay elders they carried on the work of liberalizing the churches, Cotton Mather using trickery [14] and Ebenezer Pemberton stealth [15] to introduce their reforms. And at every step, including such simple improvements as that of singing by note, they were opposed by obstinate laymen who raised the cry of "popery".

In the field of science they showed the same intellectual eagerness and the same willingness to accept new ideas. They and certain pious laymen founded the *New England Weekly Journal* in order to bring to the provincials the latest in European thought. This orthodox paper with its solid articles on science is much more important in the intellectual history of New England than is the short-lived *Courant*. The clergy adopted the new geology and the new astronomy as soon as these became available, frankly admitting that in such matters the Bible was not to be taken as the last word. Increase Mather once preached a sermon in which he described comets as portents of God's anger. Informed by an English friend that such views had been challenged by Dr. Spencer of Cambridge, he sent for a copy of Spencer's book, and soon after receiving it let it be known in a public sermon that he had been converted to the theory that comets proceeded from natural causes.[16] It was the parson, not the layman, who wrested from the hand of God the meteor and the comet. It was not until the 1740's that a layman, John Winthrop, took the lead in scientific thought in New England.

How can we reconcile all this with Mr. Jernegan's statement that the Salem witchcraft affair was "an effort on the part of the old clerical order to retain their influence and power?" [17] We cannot. Just as religiously inclined scientists from Sir Charles Lyell to Kirtley Mather have pointed to the field of the unknown as a place for God in the modern world, so some seventeenth century parsons, English and colonial, sought to illustrate the nearness of God by collecting examples of phenomena which could not then be explained by natural causes. Either the great part of phenomena then before men's eyes emanated from God or the Devil, or had no cause at all. The collecting of records of such phenomena is no proof of evil intent. But certain recent writers,

[14] Mass. Hist. Soc., *Coll.*, ser. 4, vol. VIII, p. 401; *Diary*, I, 161–162.

[15] Samuel Sewall, *Diary* (Mass. Hist. Soc., *Coll.*, ser. 5, vols. V-VII), II, 267.

[16] Mass. Hist. Soc., *Coll.*, ser. 4, vol. VIII, pp. 354–355.

[17] *American Colonies*, p. 187.

assuming that the power of the clergy had been broken by the extension of the franchise in 1691, assuming that the clergy wished to restore the old order, make the ghastly accusation that the clergy fanned "the flames of intolerance and persecution",[18] and sent the poor people of Salem Village to the gallows, a blood sacrifice for a political end. None of the Puritan-baiters has ever produced one word of contemporary evidence in support of this thesis, nor have I found any in the thousands of pages of the writings of the clergy that have passed before my eyes.

When the Salem arrests began, parsons, individually and collectively, privately and publicly, addressed the judges, saying that any persons guilty of witchcraft should be punished, but urging that none of the traditional superstitious witchhunting methods of the European courts be allowed here. They demanded that no evidence be accepted that would not have been allowed in ordinary civil and criminal cases.[19] "In Massachusetts", says Mr. Hockett, "it was the class least interested in religion which first denounced the persecution."[20] Is that true? First, the relatives of the accused raised their voices in protest, then, when the first hangings had taken place, a group of the clergy went over the heads of the court to the governor and council, urging the "need of a very critical and exquisite Caution".[21] The hangings continued; so on the eve of the opening of the August session of the court, the Cambridge association of ministers unanimously reiterated their condemnation of the type of evidence which was being accepted by the judges.[22] But still the hangings continued, so Increase Mather drew up the statement of the position of the ministers which was printed as *Cases of Conscience,* and, securing the signatures of fourteen leading clergymen, placed it before Governor Phips. Then the governor ended the Salem tragedy.[23]

It was now, according to Mr. Adams, that Cotton Mather "proceeded, by another book and by frenzied sermons, to arouse the fears and superstitions of the crowd . . . . doing all that he could to foster it".[24] These

[18] *Founding,* p. 396.

[19] Mass. Hist. Soc., *Coll.,* ser. 4, vol. VIII, pp. 391–397; Deodat Lawson, *Christ's Fidelity* (London, 1704), pp. 70 ff.; Samuel Willard, *Some Miscellany Observations* (Philadelphia, 1692), *passim.*

[20] *Political and Social Growth,* p. 125.

[21] Increase Mather, *Cases of Conscience* (Boston, 1693), appendix.

[22] *Ibid.,* p. 32.

[23] Thomas James Holmes, *Increase Mather: a Bibliography of his Works* (Cleveland, 1931), I, 115–138.

[24] *Founding,* p. 454.

sermons are unknown to bibliographers. The book to which Mr. Adams refers is Mather's *Wonders of the Invisible World,* which begins with a denunciation of the water trial and like superstitions, says that all good men were amazed at the Salem proceedings, expresses fear that innocent persons have suffered, and urges a "most Critical Enquiry . . . to find out the Fallacy".[25] In order to find out the Salem fallacy he describes foreign cases which he is sure were witchcraft, but he concludes with a warning in the form of a horrible story of a Stockholm woman recently burned on false testimony. Now Mather was not an ass; that was no way to work up a witch frenzy. Far from trying to promote the hysteria, the Mathers prevented Margaret Rule from making statements which might have led to an indictment against her, and they permitted no case, with one early exception,[26] which they personally handled to come to the scaffold.

No one ever won cheaper canonization than Thomas Brattle and Robert Calef, those "courageous laymen" of Mr. Adams's story.[27] Brattle, who never publicly opposed the proceedings, certainly was not one of the class "least interested in religion", for he was shortly thereafter engaged in founding the Church in Brattle Square, and he supported his private criticism of the Salem court by saying that the clergy almost to a man thought with him.[28] The laymen whom he names as opposing the proceedings were, perhaps with one exception, noted for their orthodox piety. Calef, so far as we know, did not offer even private criticism until the hangings were ended, and did not raise his voice in public for seven years more. If one may judge by library inventories and by contemporary mention, his book was much less influential than that of the Rev. John Hale. It was Hale's book that men of the clerical class some years later proposed to distribute to prevent a possible outbreak of what one of them called that "execrable . . . nonentity", witchcraft.[29] Far from attempting to revive the frenzy, many of the clergy, including Michael Wigglesworth, spoke harshly of those who had defiled their hands with the blood of the "poor innocents" at Salem.[30] That no civil court should ever again accept such evidence was one of the two axioms of government which Cotton Mather laid

[25] Especially "Enchantments Encountered" and pp. 50–51 of text (Boston, 1693).

[26] The case of 1688.

[27] *Founding,* p. 455.

[28] Mass. Hist. Soc., *Coll.,* ser. 1, vol. V, pp. 61–79.

[29] *Ibid.,* MSS., Letters and Papers, 1721–1760, 71 J. 135.

[30] *Ibid., Coll.,* ser. 4, vol. VIII, pp. 646–647; for the Essex clergy, see the *New-England Historical and Genealogical Register,* XXXIII, 193.

down for the guidance of the general court.[31] It was the clergy, individually and collectively, who for the next fifty years kept reminding the legislature that innocent people had suffered at Salem, and that all possible restitution should be made. Had the people blamed them for the Salem tragedy, they would not have kept the subject open.

In short there was no general anticlerical feeling in the Puritan colonies, hence no sudden overthrow of clerical power, and no such efforts to regain it as Mr. Adams describes. Far from being narrow bigots, the ministers were the leaders in every field of intellectual advance in New England in these years. And such difficulties as they experienced were in no small degree due to the fact that they were too liberal, not too conservative, for the mass of the people.

Clifford K. Shipton.

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The Indentured Servant and Land Speculation in Seventeenth Century Maryland

The historical scholar with a flair for names and statistics will find a singularly unexploited source awaiting him in the office of the land commissioner at Annapolis, Maryland. Among many records there the present writer speaks only of twenty-six volumes containing the record of land transactions in the Secretary's office between 1633 and 1680. These volumes were used by Dr. Mereness in his work on the proprietary province of Maryland, and genealogists have long known them as a hunting ground. An ancient handbook, Kilty's *Landholder's Assistant,* has made them familiar to many others, yet there is still a better return for labor there than in the Virginia Land Books, from which Professor Wertenbaker has extracted much information. This note will illustrate briefly from these registers the working of the headright system, of which the truth is already known, and will then show what light this source throws upon the freed indentured servant.

Lord Baltimore intended that land should be granted only to those who brought in settlers, and that it should be given to them without initial charge, but he made no adequate provision for insuring that settlement was actually carried out by those who thus acquired land.[1]

[31] *Theopolis Americana,* p. 29.

[1] The land system of seventeenth century Maryland is conveniently outlined in a chapter of Eugene Irving McCormac, *White Servitude in Maryland* (Baltimore, 1904), especially pp. 17 ff. This work also contains information on the freed servants, but appar-

When servants began to be imported for sale by contractors it became customary for the contractor, or the captain of the ship, to take his large land grant and sell it to a speculator, who then disposed of it, piecemeal, at an advanced price. These speculators were usually officers of the colony. Thus on November 2, 1674, Captain Samuel Gibbons, of the ship *Batchelor* of Bristol, landed ninety servants and acquired the right to 4500 acres of land on which, of course, he had no intention of settling. On the same day, "for valuable consideration", he made over his rights to Robert Ridgely, an official. Ridgely summoned his customers, and on November 6 sold off seventy-five rights to four different persons. The remaining fifteen he sold at a later date.[2] The Land Books are full of the records of similar transactions.

Such a procedure had bad results. The good land was soon granted away, and the land remaining to be given out as headrights was of inferior value. The serious immigrant found it scarcely worth while to register his claims; he had to purchase land from the speculators, while the poorer inhabitants found it almost impossible to procure good land. As a result of these abuses, the headright system was abolished by Calvert in 1683.

In earlier years many proprietors had not registered their claims, because it was unprofitable for them to pay a quitrent on more land than they could actually place under cultivation. Nevertheless the Land Books contain the names of over 21,000 immigrants, almost all indentured servants, for whose importation a headright was claimed. We are certainly justified in assuming that at least 500 servants were brought to Maryland each year after about 1650.[3]

The Land Books furnish most satisfactory evidence regarding the procedure of the indentured servant when he became free. By the law of the colony each freed servant was entitled to fifty acres of land, and the records of the Secretary's office are so full as to make possible an accurate knowledge of the number of freedmen who took advantage

ently McCormac did not use the Land Books at Annapolis. For the Virginia Land Books, see Thomas J. Wertenbaker, *The Planters of Colonial Virginia* (Princeton, 1922), and Philip Alexander Bruce, *Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century* (New York, 1895) I, 518 ff.

[2] Maryland Land Books, Liber 18, pp. 152, 179.

[3] An index has been made of the names of all persons registered in the Land Books as arriving in the colony. The count is therefore accurate and there is little chance of a duplication of names. In 1698 the governor of Maryland estimated that six or seven hundred servants had been brought in during the year (*Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, 1697–1698*, p. 390). Higher figures are indicated in some fragmentary reports for the year 1696, to be seen in the Public Record Office (C. O. 5/749, unpaged).

of this and settled down as landholders. By an analysis of the evidence for the decade 1670–1680 a fair idea may be gained of the freedman's practices in Maryland, and this may be applied not unreasonably to the other plantation colonies.

When an indentured servant in Maryland became free, he appeared at the Secretary's office and "proved his right" to fifty acres of land. Presumably he did this by presenting the certificate of freedom which his former master had given him. The secretary entered this transaction in his books, and if the servant desired it a warrant was immediately granted for the survey of the land. This warrant usually specified that a return of survey was to be made into the office within three months, in default of which the warrant would become void. In the regular course of events, the surveyor's certificate would be entered when it was returned, and from this a detailed patent would be drawn, and enrolled in the secretary's books. Thus there would be in the records four enrollments for each servant's grant: his proof of right, the granting of the warrant, the certificate of the surveyor, and the final patent. In no other colony are the records to be found in such completeness. We discover, however, that in the vast majority of cases the servant assigned away his right as soon as he had proved it, and the warrant of survey was granted to the assignee. The record in such instances appears as in the following specimen:

Nov. 14, 1673

Came Thomas Broxam of Dorchester County and proved Right to fifty acres of Land for his time of Service performed in this Province

Know all men by these presents that I Thomas Broxam doe hereby assign sell and set over unto William Jones of the same County all my Right Title and Interest of in and to fifty acres Rights to Land to me due for my time of Service performed in this province. To have and to hold the same to him his heirs or Assignes for ever. Wittness my hand and seale this 14th of November 1673

Thomas Broxam Sealed

Wittness John Griggs
Edward Williams

Eodem die Warrant then issued to William Jones of Dorchester for fifty acres of Land it being due to him by assignment from Thomas Broxam due to the said Broxam for his time of Service performed in this province. Cert: ret: the 14th of Feb. next.[4]

The greater number of servants thus disposed of their right to land without ever taking warrants for it. Some, however, came into the

[4] Maryland Land Books, Liber 17, p. 549.

office and merely proved their rights without either accepting a warrant or alienating their claim at the moment. In most of these cases an alienation of rights will be found shortly afterward in the records, but it would be impossible to trace every one of them without the preparation of an exhaustive index to the names in all land transactions. Likewise, when a servant took his warrant for land, he often did not keep it, but sold it at a later date, and these cases are equally hard to trace.

In the course of ten years, as has been already demonstrated, about 5000 servants would enter the colony of Maryland. Between 1669 and 1680 a count in the books shows that 1249 servants proved their rights, each to fifty acres of land as freedom due. Of these, 869 immediately, or very soon after the proof, assigned their rights to others. Two hundred and forty-one took warrants for land, while 139 proved their rights, and the writer's search did not reveal what disposal they made of them. Of those 241 who took warrants, a great number probably never actually settled on land, and of the 139 doubtful cases, probably very few ever took land. Assuming, however, that 241 servants actually settled each on fifty acres of land in the space of ten years, they are only just over 4 per cent of the total number of immigrating servants. Assuming also that 25 per cent of the servants died during their terms, there is left somewhat over 70 per cent of the servant immigrants whose careers as freedmen did not involve the acceptance of their freedom due of land.

If the above figures be accepted, there are about 2500 servants unaccounted for, neither proving rights to land, nor dying in their terms of service. It is probable that the majority of servants never did appear at the Secretary's office, because it is evident that the system of freedom dues in land, like the headright system, degenerated into a means of speculation. This speculation became much less profitable as the century went on, because there was so much land on the market as to render it almost valueless. Consequently, there was little incentive either for the servant to prove his own right, or for anyone to persuade him to do so. The fact that a great majority of the servants proving their rights alienated them on the same day to another person, indicates strongly that the servant did not come to the Secretary's office until someone had offered him a consideration for his rights. In a great many instances, one person assumes the rights of several servants, as if he had collected a small party and brought them to the office together to get their land. The most striking evidence for this interpretation of the system is in connection with the sending out of representatives from the Secretary's office to take proofs of freedom rights in remote parts of the province.

These representatives usually returned with most of the rights in their own hands, having bought them from the servants. Thus Joseph Chew, "gent.", had a commission from Calvert to prove rights in Cecil County in the winter of 1676–1677. He returned with twelve rights proved, every one of which had been assigned over to him by the servants who appeared before him. Likewise a commission was issued on October 6, 1674, for a deputy to prove rights at a distance from the office, and this commission was issued at the request of George Lingam, who "hath informed me that there are severall persons which have Just Right to fifty acres of Land apeice due to them by virtue of his Lordships Condition of plantacon which they are willing to assigne unto the said George Lingam".[5] Had land been more valuable, probably all of the freed servants would have hastened to the office and established their rights, but since it was not, a comparatively small number actually appeared, and the greater proportion of these had already arranged to dispose of their allotment.

Among the 4 per cent who took warrants for land we should expect to find some further evidences of ambition. Such are by no means lacking. Thus Richard Gurling, on October 13, 1674, took out fifty acres of land for his own service, and an additional 150 acres which were assigned over to him by other servants. Similarly William Home, on December 1, 1674, received a warrant for 100 acres for his own and his wife's service, and another warrant for the same amount because he had imported two servants. On July 6, 1672, two servants assigned over their rights to Katherine Layton, while a third servant, Bonham Turner, proved his own right, received a warrant, married Katherine, and entered into possession of her two rights. A slow struggle toward prosperity is indicated in the case of John Slater, who finished his service in 1663 and appeared to prove his right in 1672, at which time he bought an additional fifty acres. Among the rights for which Philip Lynes, "gent.", took out warrants in 1674, are his own and his wife's freedom dues. A great many of the warrants which were granted were for rights proved by the wife of a freedman, and many married couples proved their rights at the same time, and received warrants for their land. Robert Ridgely, who has been already mentioned as an official of the colony and a land speculator, took out fifty acres as his wife's freedom due in 1671. Perhaps the most remarkable example, however, is that of Nicholas Painter. On November 1, 1678, Painter bought the rights to 5400 acres, due to Captain John Quigley for im-

[5] Liber 15, pp. 402–403. Liber 18, p. 117. There are many other similar instances.

porting 108 persons in his ship, and he appears many times as a land speculator of great magnitude. In a grant of 2900 acres, which he took over in 1680, we find that fifty acres were due him for his own freedom rights. It is not unlikely that some persons managed to get freedom dues in land, although they had never been in indentured service.[6]

It is thus proved that the system of freedom dues in land was as great a failure as the headright system. Land speculation was partly responsible, because it left only land of inferior value available for servants. Some of the 70 per cent of freedmen who did not take their allotted portion may have purchased better land from speculators. If anyone thought it worth while to make a complete index of all names and transactions in the Land Books this point could probably be settled. But a deeper cause of the failure of the system was in the character of the servants, the majority of whom had no desire to take fifty acres and settle upon them. Some became worthy, if landless, artisans or professional men, others went into hired service, but the greatest number were indisposed to further effort. All the available evidence for the seventeenth century tends to show that average servants were at best irresponsible, lazy, and ungoverned, and at worst frankly criminal. The colonies were a severe testing ground for men. If we add to the successful 4 per cent for whom we have evidence in the Land Books another 4 per cent consisting of artisans, hired men, and ex-servants who purchased land, we shall probably have a fair estimate of the proportion of indentured servants who achieved a reasonably stable position in the colonies.

Abbot Emerson Smith.

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[6] The examples given in the text are taken from the following volumes of the Maryland Land Books: Liber 18, pp. 107–108, 136, 110; Liber 17, p. 66, 73–74; Liber 16, and Liber W. C. 2, *sub dat.*

DOCUMENTS

The Armaments on the Great Lakes, 1844

THE year 1844 saw great and varied activities in Anglo-American diplomatic relations. Texas, California, and Oregon presented major political issues; minor ones, such as the slave trade, were always present. In the latter category may perhaps be included a dispute over the armaments on the Great Lakes, though if those who shouted so lustily "54 40 or fight" had had their way the Great Lakes might have become a scene of major action. The disturbances in Canada in 1837 and complications arising therefrom had caused the British authorities to strengthen their naval patrol on the lakes.[1] It was suspected that the famous Rush-Bagot agreement of 1817, whereby each government bound itself to limit its naval force to four vessels, each not over one hundred tons with one eighteen pound cannon, had been violated. To meet possible contingencies the United States in 1843 launched at Erie an iron, side-wheel war vessel, the *Michigan,* of 582 tons burden. Richard Pakenham, British minister at Washington, protested on July 23, 1844, to Calhoun, then Secretary of State, that the Rush-Bagot convention had been violated. Calhoun sent the protest to the Secretary of the Navy, J. Y. Mason, who instituted inquiries concerning the state of the British naval armaments on the Great Lakes.[2] The question also concerned Canada, of course, and the British colonial secretary, Lord Stanley, asked Sir Charles Metcalfe, the governor of Canada, for information. Metcalfe was then engaged in a constitutional struggle with the Canadians over responsible government; and it will be noted that Sir Robert Peel felt there was a close connection between the question of the attitude of Canada toward Britain and the question of the sacrifices Britain should make for the defense of Canada. The doubt entertained by Lord Stanley as to whether the convention of 1817 extended to steamers was shared by the American government; and information col-

[1] For British nervousness at an earlier date over the state of the defenses of Canada, see "A Secret Military Document, 1825", edited by James J. Talman (*Am. Hist. Rev.,* XXXVIII, 295–300). Stanley refers in his letter of Sept. 5 to the plan indicated in this document.

[2] J. M. Callahan, "Neutrality of the American Lakes and Anglo-American Relations", in *Johns Hopkins University Studies* (Baltimore, 1898), XVI, 124–129.

lected by Mason tended to show that the British had armaments in the lake ports of Canada that exceeded the limits fixed by the Rush-Bagot convention. Mason reported to Calhoun on September 4, 1844; and Calhoun's reply to Pakenham's inquiry is dated September 5.[3]

The University of Wisconsin. PAUL KNAPLUND.

LORD STANLEY TO SIR ROBERT PEEL.

Downing Street
Sept. 5, 1844.

Private

My dear Peel

I send you a correspondence with the F. O. and with Washington, which I think requires serious consideration. In consequence of reports which I had heard, I desired Sir Charles Metcalfe to inform me whether it was true that the Americans were increasing their Naval force on the Lakes, notwithstanding the Convention. Having received an answer in the affirmative, I wrote to Aberdeen.[4] The correspondence there speaks for itself. The question is, what shall be done. I think you will agree with me that the excuses made by the United States are as futile as the Act itself is unfriendly: and that we must take some step, and can hardly allow our Trade on those Lakes to be left completely at the mercy of the United States. On the other hand it is, I know, the Duke of Wellington's opinion, and it was that of Kempt,[5] and of Sir B. Martin, on which Lord Grey's Government acted in 1831, that in the event of war, it would be hopeless to attempt to maintain the Naval superiority of the Lakes, with the local advantages possessed by the United States: and a large and expensive Establishment at Kingstown [*sic*] was consequently put down. It was however intended to provide for the *Military* defence of Canada, according to a plan laid down by the Duke of Wellington in 1826: but for one cause or another, though much has been said about these works, I am afraid little or nothing has been done. I can, if you wish it, ascertain from Sir G. Murray[6] how the matter stands, but I am afraid it will be found that the progress has been very slow. The whole plan involved an expense, if I remember right, considerably exceeding a Million Sterling: and I own that I should very much hesitate about expending such a sum on such an object, in the present state of our connexion with Canada. Still some course ought to be decided on, and acted on, by the Cabinet: and I doubt whether the measure suggested by Aberdeen, of building up to their present force, and then making a new agreement, will be sufficient or advisable. It is fair to say that it is a question whether the Convention extended to Steamers: still the construction of Vessels of such size, and the supply of shot and shells for them in time of profound peace can hardly be considered consistent with the spirit at least of the agreement. I had a proposition some short time since from a Company, to build a certain

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 128.

[4] Secretary of state for foreign affairs.

[5] General Sir James Kempt, administrator of the government of Canada, 1828–1830.

[6] Sir George Murray, provisional lieutenant governor of Upper Canada, April-July, 1815, secretary of state for war and the colonies, 1828–1830, and in 1844 master-general of the ordnance.

number of Trading Steamers capable of mounting Guns, and to be made over to the Government in case of war, the Government bearing part of the expense of their construction. Do you think such a proposition should be encouraged? But above all, shall we take more active steps about the *Military* defences? [7]

Yrs. very sincerely

STANLEY.

SIR ROBERT PEEL TO LORD STANLEY.

Whitehall Sep. 7, 1844.

Confidential

My dear Stanley

I think these papers are very important, and I am the more impressed with their importance after reading the despatch from Sir Charles Metcalfe in respect to the position of his Govt. and the state of public feeling in Canada.

That despatch has a material bearing upon the questions which the inclosed papers bring under consideration.

A great expenditure on fortifications and Military defences by land might be a protective measure against the hostile disposition and hostile preparations on the Lakes, of the Americans. But the cost of them is not only useless but money thrown away so far as Canadian feeling is concerned. The progress of such defences too is so slow—that which is done is so liable to be questioned by Military Men—may perhaps be so inapplicable to purposes of defence, some years hence, against novel modes of attack—that I do not see much prospect of controlling effectually the American tendencies to hostility by costly outlays on land fortifications.

It would be right however to make the inquiries from Sir George Murray which you suggest. I am prepared for an unsatisfactory reply.

No official answer to Mr. Pakenham's representation appears to have been received. None at least is with these Papers. If it is of the same tenor—as I presume it will be—with the verbal explanations we cannot in my opinion remain passive. If the spirit and letter of the engagements as to the amount of armament are clear, we ought, I think, temperately but firmly to require adherence to them. That is the proper course, and a more dignified one than retaliation by increased armaments on our part.

If the construction of the engagement is not clear—or if we have set a *precedent* for its non-observance which makes it difficult for us forcibly to remonstrate against its non-observance by the United States—or if we do not get satisfaction in reply to our Remonstrance—we have then no alternative that occurs to me except counter armament.

I know of no more economical mode of effecting this than by accepting the proposals of the Company to which you refer. They would of course not be accepted without a very clear understanding as to the preparation of Steam Vessels in order to ensure, in case of necessity, their adaptation to purposes of War—and without specific estimates of the charge to be incurred by us.

An important consideration will be—how far our contract with such a company will be availing for the object we have in view—will provide us with a force respectable at least as compared with that of the United States.

The chief advantage of such a contract on our part would be, if it laid the foundation of a distinct and practicable convention with the United States

[7] Original MS., the Peel Papers, British Museum, Additional MSS., 40468, ff. 209-210.

as to the respective amount of force on the Lakes. In a mere race of competition for building Vessels of War on the Lakes I am afraid we shall be beaten; and that if we have no understanding with the United States our relative inferiority in point of force will still remain, though we may increase the number of our own Vessels.

Believe me etc.
[Signed] ROBERT PEEL.[8]

John C. Calhoun and the Unification of Germany

STUDENTS of the interrelations of the United States and Europe have called attention to the interest of Americans in the revolutionary movements on the Continent and to the interest of Europeans in the American example of a federal republic.[1] The discovery of an essay of John C. Calhoun on the unification of Germany is an additional evidence of the quasi-official character of this interest. In view of the recent victory of centralization in Germany and of the nullification of traditional constitutionalism, Calhoun's essay is particularly interesting. In May, 1848, Baron von Gerolt, the Prussian minister-resident at Washington, asked Calhoun for suggestions in regard to the structure of the proposed constitution for a united Germany. Calhoun had shown considerable interest in the revolutions of 1848 and apparently welcomed the detailed information sent him by A. J. Donelson, our minister to Prussia.[2] The request of Baron von Gerolt is evidence of the high regard entertained in Germany for Calhoun as an authority on constitutional questions. While the letter that Calhoun submitted does not modify our conception of his political philosophy, it supplements it in minor respects. The failure of the Frankfort Parliament and the turn of events prevented Calhoun's suggestions from having concrete effect, but it is worth noting that members of the parliament were very much interested in it.[3]

MERLE E. CURTI.

Smith College.

[8] Copy, *ibid.*, ff. 211–213. An extract of this letter, somewhat garbled by the omission of important phrases, is found in Charles Stuart Parker, *Sir Robert Peel from his Private Papers* (London, 1899), III, 195.

[1] M. E. Curti, *Austria and the United States, 1848–1852* (Smith College Studies in History, vol. XI, no. 3); Arthur J. May, *Contemporary American Opinion of the Mid-Century Revolutions in Central Europe* (Philadelphia, 1927); John Gerow Gazley, *American Opinion of German Unification, 1848–1871* (Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, CXXI, New York, 1926).

[2] Gerolt to the King of Prussia, May 29, 1848, Geheimes Staatsarchiv, Nord Amerika, I C 17. J. Franklin Jameson, "Correspondence of John C. Calhoun", American Historical Association, *Annual Report*, 1899, II, 748–760. Chauncey S. Boucher and Robert P. Brooks, "Correspondence Addressed to John C. Calhoun, 1837–1849, *ibid.*, 1929, pp. 455–456.

[3] Graebe to Donelson, July 3, 1848, Donelson MSS., Library of Congress.

CALHOUN TO BARON VON GEROLT [4]

Washington, 28 May, 1848

I have examined with [as] much attention and care, as my engagements would permit, the fundamental law of the German Empire, proposed to the Diet by the Committee of seventeen; and agreeably to your request, I herewith communicate the suggestions, because I have not that full, accurate knowledge of the existing institutions of Germany, nor of the character, feelings and opinions of the German people, or the different interests of the communities of which they are composed, that is indispensable to form a constitution which would suit them, or to pronounce with any certainty, whether the proposed plan, or any other, would. Every constitution, to succeed, must be adapted to the community for which it is made, in all respects; and hence no one, in forming a constitution for itself, can derive much aid from that of others. With, then, the imperfect knowledge which I have, and which all must have, who have not long resided in the country, it seems to me, that the project errs in proposing to base the Constitution on *national unity* and to vest the union, or Empire, as it is called, with so vast an extent of power, as it does. It strikes me, that it would be impossible to induce the several communities, of which Germany is composed, to adopt it. To pass over all other difficulties, would the two great monarchies of Prussia and Austria agree to it? Would the sovereigns of either of them agree to be elected Emperor if his elevation to that high office would necessarily involve the relinquishment of his present crown? Or, if it would not, would either agree, that the other house add the imperial to his present crown? Or would either agree, that an inferior potentate, or any individual, however distinguished, should be elevated to a power and dignity greater than his own? It seems to me not; and that if there were no other difficulty in reconciling either of those powers to the project, this of itself would defeat it.

But, if it could be adopted, it strikes me, that it would not be advisable. A constitution based on national unity, and with such extreme powers, would, it seems to me, form too intimate and close a union, for a people divided into communities, with political institutions so very different and interests so very conflicting. The union would be much closer than that between the states of our union, and the powers possessed by the Empire would be much greater than those possessed by our federal government, although our State Governments are far more homogeneous than the several German communities and the diversity of interest much less. And yet, experience has shown, that the tendency to concentrate all powers in the federal government is far stronger than that towards dissolution, contrary to the anticipation of many of the most experienced and wise of our statesmen, when the Government went into operation. Judged, then, by our experience, the constitution proposed for Germany, would end either in absorbing all the powers belonging to the Governments of the several communities and concentrate the whole in the Empire; or what is more probable, a conflict would occur between it and them, resulting from the Union being closer, than what interest and the sympathy of the parts would permit, which would end in the dissolution of the former.

With these impressions, I am inclined to think, that the existing confederation should be preserved, but improved and strengthened. What improvement should be made in the Diet, I am not prepared to say, but am

[4] Geheimes Staatsarchiv, Nord Amerika, I C 10.

of the opinion, that it would be advisable to vest it with powers, connected with the foreign relations of Germany and its defense against aggressions from abroad and with the interior relations of its several communities and the preservation of peace and harmony between them, but with no more, than may be indispensable for either purpose. I am also of the opinion, that no further change should be made in the formation of the Diet, than may be necessary to make it the safe depository of these and such other powers, as may be conferred on it. It would be safer, at first, to give too little rather than too much power. It would be easier to add, whatever power experience might show to be necessary, than to divest the Diet of such as may be found mischievous.

I look to Germany with deep interest. If France has taken the lead in pulling down the old Government it is reserved for Germany, if I do not mistake, to take the lead in the more glorious task of constructing the new on true principles. The character of the people is well suited to establish and maintain constitutional Governments, and has ample and excellent materials wherewith to construct them;—far better than France, or any other country on the continent of Europe. On her success will depend, not only the successful consumation of what the recent revolutions aimed at in Germany, but in the rest of Europe. If she fails all others probably will.

With great respect,

Yours truly,

J. C. Calhoun.

Baron von Gerolt

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

BOOKS OF ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL HISTORY

Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period: a Study in Greek Epigraphy. By C. Bradford Welles, Assistant Professor of Classics in Yale University. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1934. Pp. c, 403. $2.50.)

This volume contains a collection of the texts, seventy-five in number, dating from 311 B. C. to 21 A. D., of those letters of the kings of the Hellenistic states which have been found inscribed on stone in Asia or the islands in Asiatic waters. The royal letters contained in inscriptions from Macedonia, Greece, and Egypt, and in papyri from Egypt, have been excluded, partly for convenience, and partly on the principle that "they belong, in the main, to the field of business rather than that of diplomacy" (p. vii). Royal letters quoted in the writings of historians, where questions of authenticity and accuracy of quotation frequently arise, have also been left out. But Mr. Welles suggests that he is merely "postponing treatment of the other royal letters to a future occasion" (p. viii).

These letters are of great importance both from the point of view of students of the *koine* and that of students of the history and administration of the Hellenistic states. Mr. Welles's study of these documents was begun as an investigation of their vocabulary, but its scope has been extended to include philological problems and also the historical analysis of the contents. This historical analysis is found in the commentaries to the individual letters. The linguistic work is largely confined to the introduction and the appendix, where a considerable amount of space has been devoted to it (pp. li-c, 309–375. The latter section includes a detailed treatment of nearly three hundred words whose occurrence in the documents calls for special comment. There are twelve illustrations, showing originals or squeezes of seventeen of the inscriptions in whole or in part.

Though F. Schroeter, whose dissertation (*De regum Hellenisticorum epistulis in lapidibus servatis quaestiones stilisticae,* Leipzig, 1932) appeared when Mr. Welles's work was already nearing completion, has collected and reprinted the majority of these royal letters, he has taken his text from previous publications in most cases, and has omitted brackets where he considers restorations certain. Welles, on the other hand, gives us a critical text which is the product of collation of the stones or squeezes whenever possible (in the case of about two thirds of the documents), and has supplied many new restorations. Therefore, even apart from the supplementary material, his

work is conspicuously justified as a collection of new critical texts of the letters.

The book shows the highest degree of careful, accurate scholarship throughout. It was printed in Czechoslovakia, which means that the native language of the compositors was presumably different from the language of the book. This situation always increases the difficulty of avoiding errors in the printing, but misprints and other slips seem to occur very infrequently. One small slip, which perhaps deserves to be mentioned just because the book is generally so free from errors, becomes noticeable upon comparing the note on no. 1, line 3 (p. 9) with the list of *hapax legomena* (p. lxxxv; *cf.* also p. 359, s. v. προσδιαδίδωμι). The author restores προσδια[διδόντες] in the document without informing the reader in his note that the verb προσδιαδίδωμι is found nowhere in Greek, and then places this verb in his list of *hapax legomena* without explaining there that it is his own restoration.

This fine volume will be indispensable to all scholars interested in the history, institutions, epigraphy, or language of the Hellenistic period. It is to be hoped that Mr. Welles will continue his work on the correspondence of the Hellenistic kings, devoting another volume to the letters excluded from this one.

Columbia University. CLINTON W. KEYES.

Papyri from Tebtunis. Part I. By ARTHUR E. R. BOAK. [Michigan Papyri, Volume II.] (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1933. Pp. xv, 259. $3.50.)

THE documents from Tebtunis published by Professor Boak are more complete and present a clearer picture of the business activities of an Egyptian village than has hitherto been possible. The index of documents prepared at the *grapheion* in A. D. 45/6 shows that over 800 were drawn up. These included contracts of dowry, leases, sales, loans, mortgages, gild ordinances, apprenticeship, reports, and other documents of miscellaneous character. The staff was kept so busy that night work was sometimes required. Not less important than the evidence for the economic life of the village are the accounts of expenses recorded by the partners who had the lease of the *grapheion*. These yield important data for the cost of food, clothing, paper, and other supplies.

The *grammaticon*, or fee for writing documents, varied from 1 obol to 40 drachmas, apparently based on the length and number of copies. Evidence for determining the basis of calculating the fee may be found in P. Teb. 383 dated Epiph 17, A. D. 46, which was prepared at the *grapheion*. The record of this contract must be restored in the incomplete entries for that day in P. Mich. 123 R. XVIII. The only possible place is in lines 41–42 which should be restored as follows:

[Ὁμολογία Μαρεψήμιος πρὸς Ταμαρρητα] διαιρέσεως οἰκοπέδον (δρ.) η [καὶ ὑπὲρ ὑπογράφεως] (οβ.) α.

The division of house-property in the index is doubtless a summary way of describing the *pastophorion* located therein as recorded in P. Teb. 383. Thus the fee for writing a document of 48 lines (of *ca.* 55 letters each) is 8 dr. This rate is rather high, even assuming the preparation of one or more copies, when we consider that the average wage of common labor was a drachma a day.

The registers of the years 45/6 (no. 123) are almost completely preserved and furnish valuable economic data. The rental (φόρος) paid by salt sellers, dyers, and brewers indicate that in the reign of Claudius government control of these industries in the Fayum was still maintained. Contracts (χειρογραφίαι) of wool sellers and weavers were drawn up. In only one of these (123 R. III. 4) is the party of the second part indicated and this is a government official. The presumption is that the other contracts are made with the state and if so some measure of government control in these industries is also to be postulated.

The same document also shows considerable fluctuation in the ratio of silver and bronze currencies for these years, though the evidence is not always easy to interpret because of inaccuracy in keeping accounts. The reckoning in col. III is hopelessly confused. In col. VII. 42 receipts amounting to 29 dr. 148½ ob. are equated with a total of 49 dr. 1½ ob. This equation is correct if we assume that 21 dr. were paid at a rate of 7 obols and 28 dr. at a rate of 7¼ obols. In col. XIII the sum of 180½ obols is equated with 24 silver dr. 20½ ob. This gives an unusual ratio of 6 2/3 obols per drachma which is otherwise unknown. It is better to assume that 16 dr. were collected at a rate of 6½ obols (*cf.* P. Teb. 401) and 8 dr. at 7 obols. In col. XVII the 7-obol drachma seems to be used throughout. In line 47 the total of 96 dr. 27½ ob. should be restored and in line 48 the total of 172 dr. must be obtained by adding 72 dr. ½ ob. which was evidently the balance given in the missing lines at the end of col. XVI. In no. 128 II. 36 the sum of 33 dr. 5 ob. is equated with 8 staters 15 obols. Either the scribe is inaccurate or 12 dr. were collected in the 7¼-obol and the balance in the 7-obol standard and the account was settled when the stater had a value of 28 obols. Similar fluctuations in the ratio of bronze and silver may be noted in A. D. 79 (P. Lond. 131).

An analysis of documents prepared at the record office in A. D. 45/6 shows that economic conditions were unusual. Out of 800 (approximately) contracts recorded in no. 123 there were 58 direct loans of money, 31 loans were secured by granting the creditor the right of occupying the debtor's house, 16 others borrowed money by pledging themselves to personal service, 14 'prodomatic' leases were granted in return for loans, and 14 mortgages of various kinds were drawn up. This record shows that the villagers at Tebtunis

were heavily involved in debt. Further proof of this is revealed by the nursing contracts of which 9 out of 16 provided for rearing slaves. Since slavery was rare in the Egyptian villages it is evident that economic conditions had forced parents to expose their children and these were being reared as slaves. Furthermore the leases of land show that more than a third were granted for pasture or for the cultivation of grass or clover for grazing and this proportion may be much higher since the abstracts of the remaining two thirds do not specify the nature of the crop. This attention to grazing is all the more remarkable since we have no other evidence that Tebtunis was especially interested in this form of agriculture and in view of the high price of wheat we should expect all available land to be devoted to cereal culture. In the summer of 45 wheat sold for 8 dr. per artaba [1] and the proprietors of the *grapheion* purchased a large quantity in August and September evidently expecting a shortage and higher prices later on. Judging this evidence as a whole we must conclude that the previous harvest had been a failure and that the villagers became deeply involved in debt and many of them were unable even to rear their children. The number of leases for grazing purposes in the following year is more difficult to understand. Pliny (N. H. V. 58) says that the highest Nile on record occurred in the reign of Claudius. If this happened in the year 45 the land would be uncovered by the receding flood too late for the sowing of wheat in low-lying fields which, however, could be leased for clover or for grazing. At any rate the Michigan papyrus gives positive evidence for a famine in Egypt in the year 45 and if our interpretation of the leases is correct this famine continued through the year 46/7 because the high Nile in the summer of 45 prevented the cultivation of cereals. The universal famine mentioned in the New Testament (Acts, XI. 28; Josephus, Ant. III. 15.3; XX. 2.5) may be brought into relation with the failure of the Egyptian harvests, and the establishment of the date has an important bearing on New Testament studies (Zahn, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, II, 641 ff.).

The abstracts of documents prepared in the last four months of 41/2 (no. 121) bear a general resemblance to those of 45/6, but leases of land for grazing are less in evidence and it is possible that leases made at this time are for summer crops only. On the other hand the proportion of direct loans is higher in the earlier year. Unfortunately no prices are recorded for the year 41/2, but economic conditions appear to resemble those following the failure of the harvest in the summer of 45. Dio (LX. 11) records a famine in Rome in his narrative of the events of the year 42, and this may be due to the failure of the Egyptian harvest in the preceding year.

In the limits of this brief review I have sought to show the importance

[1] Wheat sold for 3 dr. in 33 (Wilcken, Ost. 127) and for 2 dr. 1 ob. in 65 (Tait, O. Petrie 210).

of the Michigan papyri for the economic history of the reign of Claudius. Professor Boak has done an excellent piece of work in the difficult task of decipherment and historians and papyrologists are indebted to him for making these important documents available by prompt publication.

Princeton University. ALLAN CHESTER JOHNSON.

Papal Revenues in the Middle Ages. By WILLIAM E. LUNT, Scull Professor of English Constitutional History, Haverford College. Two volumes. [Records of Civilization, General Editor, Austin P. Evans.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1934. Pp. x, 341; 665. $12.50.)

STUDENTS of the Middle Ages have long felt that a better knowledge of the papal financial system would not only throw valuable light on the nature of the medieval papacy but also aid in understanding the rise of national states and the phenomenon of the Reformation. With the opening of the Vatican Archives in 1881 adequate materials were at last made available to students, but although numerous studies have appeared since that time on separate phases of the problem of papal finance a comprehensive treatment of the subject has been lacking. Furthermore there has been but little material available in English, and medievalists should thus be doubly grateful to Professor Lunt, who has already added much to our knowledge of papal finance in medieval England, for writing this timely book and to the editors of "Records of Civilization" for publishing it.

The author has not attempted an exhaustive treatment of the subject of papal revenues in the Middle Ages since he feels that this must await the results of further research. Furthermore a fundamental aim of the series of which this study is a part is to provide source materials in English from which the student may obtain his own understanding of the past. The bulk of Professor Lunt's two volumes is therefore made up of a collection of documents in translation which he has assembled "with the intention of providing a reasonably comprehensive and impartial view of the organisation, work and growth of the papal financial department, and of the nature and development of the revenues which it levied". The careful selection of these documents, the effort to obtain an accurate rendering in translation, the frequent inclusion of explanatory notes, and the method of arrangement employed make much easier the task of the student who would understand papal finance from source materials. The author has also provided a historical introduction of 136 pages designed, as he modestly declares, merely "to explain the significance of the documents and to give them greater coherence and continuity". Actually it is a concise but illuminating account of the characteristics and development of the papal financial system up to the time of the Reformation.

For several centuries, Professor Lunt points out, papal revenues were derived mainly from the patrimonies and the States of the Church while other sources of income, such as the census owed by exempt monasteries and Peter's pence, were insignificant in amount. Effective administration of papal finances was lacking until the increasing pecuniary needs of the popes in the second half of the twelfth century necessitated a more efficient collection of revenues, and the financial administration of the papacy was then centered in the camera. During the thirteenth century the tax on ecclesiastical incomes, first imposed in 1199, aided in the development of a better organized and more efficient system of collection, although the establishment of permanent collectorates outside the British Isles did not come until the fourteenth century when new taxes imposed by the popes led to a rapid growth of the cameral organization. The removal of the papacy to Avignon had resulted in a considerable decrease in the revenues from the States of the Church, too large a proportion of the tax on incomes had to be shared with temporal rulers, and the financial embarrassment of the papacy necessitated frequent loans. To remedy this situation the Avignonese popes turned more and more to taxes on benefices, especially services, dating from the thirteenth century, and the new imposition of annates, and these soon provided a considerable proportion of the papal income. Additional funds were obtained from fruits during vacancies, fruits wrongfully received by holders of benefices, spoils, and procurations. The administration of these taxes required a considerable increase in the staff of the camera. During the fifteenth century the business of the camera continued to expand, for indulgences had now become a profitable source of income to the papacy and the sale of offices was being more and more resorted to. Yet by 1500 there was again an increase in revenues from the States of the Church, and by concentrating on these the camera was tending to lose something of its universal aspect.

The comprehensive work on papal finance still remains to be written, but within the limits which he set for himself Professor Lunt has done a brilliant piece of work. His dispassionate presentation of material and his careful scholarship are too well known to require comment by any reviewer though special notice should be given to the excellent index and the extensive bibliography which he has provided. Even though he considers the present work to be merely an introduction to the subject it will be heartily welcomed by writers and students in this period, and it should prove invaluable both in correcting false impressions which are still held regarding papal finance in the Middle Ages and in making clearer its nature and importance.

The University of Rochester. HUGH MACKENZIE.

Hooton Pagnell: the Agricultural Evolution of a Yorkshire Village. By ARTHUR G. RUSTON, D.Sc., B.A., Lecturer in Agricultural Economics

and Advisory Economist, The University of Leeds, and DENIS WITNEY, B.Com., Advisory Economist, The University of Edinburgh. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1934. Pp. viii, 459. $10.50.)

THIS book unfolds the development of a small English village and its appended hamlet from the Norman Conquest down to the present. The community is situated in the West Riding of Yorkshire, near Doncaster. The village is of the nucleated type, with the traditional three fields, numerous shots, and hundreds of strips of from one half to one acre each. The holdings of each villein in the Middle Ages were widely scattered. Certainly in this case one reason for the scattering would be the need of giving each man a variety of soil, which, though mostly inferior, was of varying quality.

The authors have set out to present a balanced picture. They are concerned with the parish, the lord of the manor, the tenants, the system of landholding, and the technique of agriculture. They turn aside from the field of modern agricultural economics, which is their normal interest, to investigate past developments, so as to see what light those developments can throw upon the present. The muniment room of the manor house has yielded an abundance of documents, particularly for the later period—court rolls, farm deeds, a survey for 1595, and so on, but no enclosure award. There are the usual earlier sources of Domesday Book, the lay subsidy roll of 1297, poll tax rolls, and so on, but no early charters.

The number of holdings, about which there is little information for the Middle Ages, has declined from 32 in 1754 to 12 at the present. All 12 farms are owned by the lord of the manor and are leased to farmers. The fields were enclosed chiefly in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. Since enclosure in the eighteenth century was by agreement, no enclosure act was necessary. The holdings of the farmers are still scattered in spite of the enclosure of the fields. One estate (described on p. 127) contained, in 1297, 20 acres which were scattered in 25 parcels; in 1595, 40 acres in 41 parcels; in 1753, 90¾ acres in 26 parcels; in 1794, 162½ acres in 18 parcels; and in 1931, 147½ acres in 15 parcels. The authors point out the disadvantages of this arrangement, particularly in the matter of cultivation. To be sure, the medieval parcels of less than an acre each have now given way to parcels of nearly 10 acres each, and all the land is enclosed. This picture of enclosure is typically English: improvement goes only part way. In this particular village there is an unusual difficulty in exchanging holdings in order to consolidate, namely the fact that the quality of the soil is so uneven. Add to this the usual aversion of the farmer to change the holdings with which he is familiar.

One of the very noteworthy aspects of this work is the general treatment given to topics that arise in the study of this single village, for example,

population changes, enclosures, prices, and tenure. The authors stand ready to tell us what has happened in England as a whole or in neighboring villages. Statistical tables, charts, and maps help to explain situations and developments both in the village and beyond. Indeed, this book is greatly enriched by pictorial illustrations of various kinds, past and present.

The chief general doubt that I have concerning this excellent monograph on local history concerns the question of how far general conditions should be brought into a very special local situation. At times, it is effective to do so, for example, when we are told that, while in England as a whole 64 per cent of the agricultural land is farmed by tenants, in Hooten Pagnell 100 per cent is so farmed. In general, however, it is a faulty method to bring general conditions into a local study. I give three reasons for this view. In the first place, doing so means going backwards logically: a local study is the means not the end of research. We study the history of a village primarily to have material for a larger field. Secondly, this method breaks the flow of interest. For instance, on pp. 432–433 is set forth the tithe act of 1925 which it is stated did not affect Hooten Pagnell because in the latter the tithe had been redeemed in 1922. Thirdly, material of a general nature, often of value, is buried for the average reader because he would never look for it in a study ostensibly local.

We have long been in need of standards for workers in the field of local history. If the present book had been confined strictly to the village, which is the excuse for its existence, it would probably occupy only half the present number of pages; or, and this would have been the ideal, it would have dealt more intensively with the purely local material.

Harvard University. N. S. B. Gras.

Le Moyen Age russe. Par Alexandre Eck. Préface de Henri Pirenne. [Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales de l'Université libre de Bruxelles.] (Paris: Maison du Livre Étranger. 1933. Pp. 569.)

The present work, undertaken by a Russian engineer who has taught Russian history for the last fifteen years at the Belgian universities of Ghent and Brussels, constitutes a praiseworthy effort to analyze Russian institutions from the origins to the establishment of Muscovite absolutism in the sixteenth century. This topic is naturally one hardly familiar to Occidental historians, who are barred by ignorance of the language and the absence of translations from the same close examination of annalistic and documentary materials which has promoted the advance of medieval historical studies in the West. At the same time, however, the lack of a modern detailed political history of this period—in English, at least, since the omnibus *Histoire de Russie* by Messrs. Milyukov, Seignobos, and Eisenmann (Paris, 1932–1933) provides something of the sort for French readers—restricts the utility of Mr. Eck's

volume for those amateurs who desire a rather closer integration of political history and institutions than is offered by his study. Doubtless the author would, moreover, be the last to claim a high degree of originality in his treatment of the subject within his self-imposed limits, since he is mainly dependent on the relatively large body of previous Russian research in this field.

Mr. Eck begins his work with a brief summary of the origins of the Russian state in the Kiev-Novgorod period, generally conceived along the lines laid down by Klyuchevski as to the development of rudimentary trading posts into cities and the function of the Varangians in the evolution of Kiev. As far as may be judged from his notes and bibliography, the author is not familiar with some of the more recent studies of the Varangians, particularly those of Stender-Petersen. Mr. Eck's summary of the cultural attainments of the Kiev period also suggests the regret that something similar was not provided for the rising Muscovite state which, however backward intellectually, also possessed its original thinkers. A reference to Kievan relations with the West would also have been appropriate, since it is erroneous to suppose that pre-Tartar Russia was totally cut off from Occidental contacts and influences, which penetrated even to the remoter principality of Suzdal-Vladimir.

From a sketch of the process of colonization toward the northeast, the author passes to an examination of the results of the Tartar incursion. It is worth while to note in passing that in his treatment of the northeastern principalities Mr. Eck is not exempt from the schematized method of the older Russian historians who sought to trace a direct line of descent from the early pre-eminence of Kiev to the rising hegemony of Moscow, and presupposed a relatively slight development of Rostov and the upper Volga basin before the days of Yuri Dolgoruki in the twelfth century. In this connection, the author should at least have taken into account the objections of M. S. Hrushevski and A. E. Presnyakov to this schematization, the origins of which go back to the sixteenth century founders of official Muscovite historical tradition. Mr. Eck's adherence to this evolutionary theory results in his almost complete disregard of the medieval Galician-Volhynian and Lithuanian principalities, which are really as much (if not indeed more truly) the heirs of Kiev as Suzdal and Moscow. It is well enough to speak of the "dislocation" of Russia with the decline of Kiev and the Tartar hegemony, provided one appreciates that Russian life went on around other nuclei than those of Novgorod (to which Mr. Eck also devotes comparatively little space) and the Moscow district. Mr. Eck provides a good estimate of the effects of Tartar rule, with due attention to its economic and fiscal aspects. One correction of detail is necessary: the word *tovar* ("merchandise, camp, property") is not Tartar, as Mr. Eck assumes (p. 37), but

Khazar, and was in current use two centuries and more before the Tartars were even heard of.

After discussing the parcellation of the Suzdal-Vladimir area in the thirteenth century, Mr. Eck proceeds to the main topic of his monograph: the social organization of Suzdalian-Muscovite Russia from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century. He thus deals successively with the princes and their administration, the Church (its position in society, its economic rôle, its juridical prerogatives, and its dependents), the servitors of the prince, the peasants, city dwellers and commerce, and the servile elements of society, concluding with a lengthy chapter on the formation of the Muscovite monarchy which supplies the political background for the previous sections. Purely from the standpoints of method and intrinsic clarity, this summary might preferably have preceded the institutional analysis.

A section of Mr. Eck's book of more than usual interest to Western scholars is that in which he deals with the rise of Russian feudal relationships, which show striking parallels with Occidental feudalism. It was long the custom of Russian historians, and not merely those of Slavophile conviction or tendency, to depict the evolution of the medieval Russian state as something unique, devoid of essential similarity to the processes observed in Western Europe. With regard to feudalism, the chief opposition to this view emanated from M. Pavlov-Silvanski, a young scholar who before his untimely death in 1908 had written a considerable series of articles on this subject which culminated in his monograph, *Feudalism in Old Russia* (1907), republished in 1924 under Soviet auspices with an introduction by the late M. N. Pokrovski. This new edition placed the Marxist stamp of approval on the author's theories, which constitute an important contribution to the Marxist contention that Russia is to be regarded as a European country which has developed along the same fundamental lines as its neighbors, with due allowance for peculiar local factors which have retarded or accelerated certain phases of its evolution. Students of comparative institutions will thus find a considerable body of suggestive material in Mr. Eck's chapters on princely servitors and the bonds of vassalage.

In dealing with the rise of Moscow, Mr. Eck lays somewhat excessive emphasis on the rôle played by individual princes and rather too little on the results of economic pressure. On the whole, for example, the early struggle between Moscow and Tver from 1305 forward was waged not by the princes, who were too busily engaged in currying Tartar favor, but by boyars on the ground, and the eminence of Ivan Kalita was due as much to the ambitions of his feudatories as to his own energy. Similarly, the rise of Moscow, as Klyuchevski pointed out, was chiefly due to its geographical situation on a crucial trade route. The relations between Novgorod and Moscow were

primarily conditioned by mercantile considerations, and the final overthrow of Novgorod resulted from Muscovite ambitions not only to control the northern Dvina fur preserves but also to shift the profits of trade with the West from the old metropolis to Moscow. The motives indicate the degree of influence upon princely policy possessed by classes not always assumed to have been extremely vocal, and should provide a warning against any tendency to attach too much weight to princely initiative when the latter was merely the product of circumstances over which the prince, more likely than not, had no control whatever.

These reservations are not intended, however, to disparage the effectiveness of Mr. Eck's monograph, which amply merits attentive study, and may well serve as a stimulus to medievalists in search of new materials and fields of research. For the beginner in Russian history, the temptation is great not to go back beyond the modern revolutionary period or, at the most, the more familiar phases of nineteenth century Russian diplomacy. Important as these items are, there is also abundant opportunity for extremely productive research in both the early and the late medieval periods in Russia, where problems of institutional, social, and economic history still await the trained investigator familiar with Western European parallels and qualified to handle the native source materials.

Harvard University. SAMUEL H. CROSS.

Calendar of Ormond Deeds. Edited by EDMUND CURTIS, Litt.D., Professor of Modern History, Trinity College, Dublin. Volume II, *1350–1413 A. D.* [Ormond Deeds, the Mediæval Documents preserved at Kilkenny Castle, published by the Irish Manuscripts Commission.] (Dublin: The Stationery Office. 1934. Pp. xli, 403.)

THIS second volume of the calendar of Ormond deeds contains fewer royal charters and deeds of intrinsic diplomatic interest than the first, but from the point of view of the political and economic history of Ireland is of equal or even greater importance. It includes some late inspeximus charters and confirmations, but in the main the deeds fall between the years 1350 and 1413, a period for which very little evidence is in print. The method adopted by the editor continues that of the first volume, giving short summaries in English of most documents, retaining all names of persons and places, and adding a transcript of the Latin text where some matter of special interest is involved. The deeds relate for the more part to the Ormond family and the growth and management of their great estates, but there are included also some relating to other families and small tenants. The grant by Hugh Despenser (1391–1393) of the castle of Kilkenny which became the center of

the Ormond fee, is included, and also the prisage of wines whereby the position of the Ormonds was strengthened financially.

Amongst the interesting matters for which the calendar is a mine of information is the organization and functioning of the government of Ireland during the period. Names of officers are often mentioned. The part played by James Butler, third earl of Ormond, may be noted especially, and his relation to various institutions of the central administration. On the economic side attention should be called to the charters containing customals of towns, especially that of Sumertown near Callan, and also to the indenture containing the condition that there be built within two years "a town of houses suitably, after the manner of lawful towns". There should also be noted the references to *betaghs, nativi hibernici,* and villeins, open fields, distinctions between *dominium* and *dominicum,* and the various rents and services by which tenants held, which will aid our knowledge of manorial organization in Ireland. Coyne and cess and bolle appear occasionally, and many documents relate to livery and maintenance. The relation between English and Irish inhabitants during the period, and the growing strength of the Irish is also somewhat clarified. Legislation was passed to prevent the exodus of English lords, on account of the "urgent necessity of saving the land of Ireland", and some evidence is given of the assimilation of English to Irish. The editor states in his short preface that "in Ireland the Normans, after being, and speaking, French till 1360, turned first out of necessity, then with real affection, to the ancient and unbroken speech and tradition of the Gaelic majority". The earl of Ormond in 1395 spoke both Irish and English fluently. The volume contains several examples of treaties or agreements drawn up with Irish chieftains, and light is thrown on local conditions by an extraordinary case in the course of which a plea of defamation was brought against the bishop of Cloyne by the earl of Ormond, and accusations were made also of schism and heresy, all of which came before the court of the vicar general of the archbishop of Cashel. The bishop of Cloyne had introduced into the Mass instead of the proper preface a clause beginning *duo sunt,* and naming the earl of Ormond and the earl of Desmond as destroying "us and our goods". The audience was scandalized, "hoping the good bishop was only out of his mind", but when he defended his "shocking words", and refused to come on summons, proceedings were taken against him. We are grateful for this example of ecclesiastical procedure, and also for many records of the earls' own courts. The volume contains an index of names of persons and places, and mention should be made also of the comments of Mr. Charles McNeill, quoted in the preface, on the interpretation of certain passages in the first volume.

Mount Holyoke College. N. Neilson.

BOOKS OF MODERN HISTORY

The God of the Witches. By MARGARET ALICE MURRAY, D.Litt., Fellow of University College, London. (London: Sampson Low, Marston and Company. 1934. Pp. ix, 214. 8*s.* 6*d.*)

Miss Murray's book is less a new one than a rewriting of her volume on *The Witch-Cult in Western Europe* (1921). Like that it deals not only with the god, but with the worshipers, the priesthood, the rites, of a pagan religion—the worship of a god of fertility—which Miss Murray believes to have survived in rural Christendom from palaeolithic days, not only to the end of the Middle Ages, but far into the modern time. Leaders in this worship, she thinks, were the fairies, in whom she sees a primitive folk, only slightly smaller than others, who lived hidden in the recesses of the countryside. But the bulk of the worshipers, according to Miss Murray, were those whom their fellows persecuted as "witches", their Christian persecutors identifying their god with the Devil; and it is on what she can learn from the confessions of these as to their "witch-sabbaths"—their secret assemblies for worship—that her theory mainly rests.

Now, these "confessions" were nearly all elicited by torture; and of this not irrelevant fact her earlier book made at least a mention. It was but a grudging mention, and she added that "in most of the English and many of the Scotch trials legal torture was not applied". In how many of the English trials a substitute for torture was found we have learned more fully from the recent book of Mr. Ewen; and in those under the witch-finder Hopkins the use of torture, however illegal, was notorious. As for Scotland, she cannot show that in a single case the confession was not due to torture or the fear of torture. Sir George Mackenzie, himself the king's prosecutor, whom she rashly names among the brilliant minds that believed what the witches testified, tells us instead that to his certain knowledge "most of all that ever were taken were tormented after this fashion" whose cruelty he describes, "and this usage was the ground of all their confession". But it was something to caution her readers by a mention of torture. Her new book never mentions it; and no more than the old does it suggest that she has studied any history of the witch persecution or given a thought to the procedure that made confession certain but worthless. She still quotes without discrimination the New England witches, who knew (and were meant to know) that it was those who would not confess who were put to death, and especially Mary Osgood, who not only took back her confession and was let go, but joined with others in a vivid account of the pressure which induced the false confession. Still she builds on the confession of Guillaume Edelin, the cleric and scholar who first had the courage to maintain from the pulpit that the

witch-sabbath was a fantasy, and whose monstrous confession and life imprisonment have by scholars been counted the Inquisition's requital.

It was, indeed, the absurdities confessed by those accused of witchcraft that eventually discredited the torture. On the Continent, where witch trials were many and records more full, and where torture was everywhere used, the exposure could be earlier and more thorough. Under the Roman law, here everywhere in force, the first step was the preparation of a questionary, whose items were sometimes prescribed by the government, but oftenest based on the testimony to be offered against the accused. The poor victim, groping in agony for whatever would satisfy the inquisitors, had to answer little but yes or no. In the reviewer's keeping is a trial in which the accused, hesitant what further to confess, asked that his accusers' testimony be read him—and it was. It should be clear—as it has long been to Continental scholars—that what is to be sought in these "confessions" is less the deeds of the accused than the imaginings of their accusers.

It was late in the Middle Ages when the witch-sabbath was first dreamed of. The tenth century idea of women who ride at night through vast spaces "with Diana and Herodias", which Miss Murray tries to connect with it, has long been recognized as a remnant of classical superstition. No contemporary saw in it an earthly ride to an earthly meeting, and the Church stamped it out as an illusion. When in the mid-fifteenth century a Dominican inquisitor wrote the first monograph on what he called the "new sect" of the Devil-worshipers, the *haeretici fascinarii* (*i. e.*, the witches), he denies any connection of these with the troop of Diana and Herodias, "quae sunt fabulosae quaedam et poeticae fictiones". Our first glimpses of Devil-worship or witch-assembly belong to the late thirteenth century or the early fourteenth, when the Schoolmen had completed their dualism, with the Devil as "God's ape" and his synagogue as the Church's parody, and when the Inquisition had learned to extort from a heretic whatever "confession" was needed—especially of secret meetings in inaccessible places. But from this back to Miss Murray's pre-Christian cult is a long, long gap; and what she asks us to believe is that through all this the cult survived, unsuspected by the theologians who tirelessly sought new heresies and by the penitentials which rested on the disclosures of countless sinners. We must believe it though no fairy seems ever to have been caught, no penitent to have disclosed that the witches' Devil was really a god of fertility.

Miss Murray's views have gained a vast currency. If her complacent reviewers would only glance at her sources!

Cornell University. GEORGE L. BURR.

Venetian Ships and Shipbuilders of the Renaissance. By FREDERIC CHAPIN LANE, Associate in History in the Johns Hopkins University.

[The Johns Hopkins Historical Publications.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1934. Pp. ix, 285, $3.50.)

Dr. Lane has gone to archival documents to assemble essential facts which lie beneath the greatness of Venice in her prime. The queen city of the Adriatic would have been of no consequence without the ships which rode the waves from Egypt and Turkey to England and Flanders. The ships could not have existed without builders, organized to maintain and unite their skill and transmit it to their successors. The fashion, size, and structure of the ships was changed from time to time, combining the traditions of the Mediterranean and the Baltic with experience from the longer voyages of the fiercer oceans. The carrying and exchange of valuable goods between East and West and the conveyance of pilgrims and other passengers was highly profitable. Wares and men must be protected by weapons and artillery on the merchant ships or by galleys mainly devoted to warfare.

The size and durability of the ships of Venice were surprisingly limited. In the great days of the sixteenth century the light galleys were in principal dimensions 125 feet long, seventeen feet wide, and only five or six feet deep; and the ordinary "round ships" were 72 by 20 by 18 feet (p. 3). Considering their size, the ships had packed within them an extensive equipment, a heavy cargo, and a large number of men. The trireme galley carried 150 to 180 men on the rowing benches alone, each pulling an oar 30 feet long which weighed 120 pounds. Great galleys used both oars and sails, and carried 200 to 250 tons of cargo. A usual type of round ship carried 600 tons (1000 *botte* or butts of wine). The ships of Venice had to be replaced by new ones on the average every ten years.

The reader of this book will learn much about the ships of the great discoveries and conquests: carracks, busses, and cogs, caravels, galleons, and galleasses. The great shipwrights, Theodor Baxon, Nicolas the Greek, and the Bressan dynasty, kept the art of shipbuilding in step with the times. The Humanist professor, Vittor Fausto, was permitted to build and launch in 1529 a great galley whose five men to a bench, each with a separate oar, raced it past a selected trireme to victory (p. 66).

The workmen were organized in gilds after immemorial fashion, in the three groups of ship carpenters, caulkers, and sawyers. The training of apprentices, the transmission of the "mystery", the worship of God with reverence for patron saints, various forms of social insurance, and contracts with employers whether private or the state, provided the gild officers with abundant activity.

The need of maintaining a navy for protection in time of peace and battle in time of war, whether with Genoa, the Turk, or anyone else, led the Venetian government to develop the Arsenal, a shipbuilding establishment occupying sixty acres and employing from one to two thousand skilled work-

men. Ten or more galleys must be turned out each year, a reserve of completed ships was kept in the three basins, and vast quantities of timbers, ropes, weapons, and other equipment were stored.

The discussion of the timber supplies in the last chapter is illuminating. Apparently an important reason for the decline of Venice was that insufficient timber was grown within a reasonable distance to supply beams, planks, and oars. Suitable logs of oak, larch, and fir were sought near and far. Forests owned by the state or on any Venetian territory were more and more closely supervised. As distance inland increased, the problem of transport grew more difficult. Finally timber and even completed ships were bought from abroad.

Dr. Lane might have explained more changes in shipbuilding conditions by constant chronological reference to the wars of Venice and to known commercial variations. From another point of view, the data he supplies concerning the ships of Venice will greatly help students of the military and commercial history of the two centuries concerned.

Ten tables and seven appendixes supplement the narrative, providing statistics of the proportions and measures of the various types of Venetian ships in different periods, the numbers of the craftsmen and their pay, the weights, measures, and moneys, freight rates, and the cost of ships. A light galley about the year 1600 cost complete 8056 ducats or about $30,000 of 1934 gold value. Sixty years later a 480 ton merchant ship or a 720 ton war galleon cost four times as much.

The University of Illinois. A. H. Lybyer.

La chronique de Philippe de Vigneulles. Éditée par Charles Bruneau, professeur à l'Université de Nancy. Tomes III, IV, *De l'an 1473 à l'an 1525.* [L'Université de Nancy.] (Metz: Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de la Lorraine. 1932, 1933. Pp. iv, 402; 559.)

The character of the first two volumes of Philippe's chronicle has been indicated in this *Review* (XXXIV, 575; XXXVIII, 830). In them the author followed at first an unnamed priest, later Jean Abrion, a citizen of Metz. After Abrion died in 1501, Philippe, who was then twenty-eight years old, assumed full responsibility for the narrative. While earlier parts of the chronicle may thus have been in substance contemporary with the events which they describe, Volume IV is unquestionably so. There is marked expansion of the tale between 1512 and 1523, resulting in some 400 pages on a single decade. Philippe's plan, as indicated in his prologue, was to write particularly of the international wars fought in Italy. It is doubtful whether he has told us much about them that is new. Items like the reception of Francis's money by the Swiss before they turned against him at

Marignano or the censure of Julius II for causing the death of 50,000 men are of interest.

Relative to happenings at or near Metz Philippe is most informing. Sometimes these are of general purport. We learn what princes and cities were present at Maximilian's Diet of Cologne in 1505, what ceremonies attended the coronation of Charles V, what were the proceedings against Luther a year later. The author at times essays to give documents, such as a letter of 1500 from the sultan to the king of France. He gossips about the duke of Suffolk, the "White Rose", who in 1514 came to live at Metz. The prince hunted with the townsmen, raced his best horse against a rival horse of one of them, attracted to himself the wife and jewels of another. About conflicts in which the city was engaged Philippe is naturally detailed. When in 1492 Duke René demanded of Metz 20,000 florins, an eloquent speech by Abrion voiced the city's refusal to pay, and the court of the archbishop of Treves upheld the refusal. When in 1512 Maximilian requested a great "taille et ayde" from all his empire, the townsmen declined with spirit. The sharpest struggle was with Philippe Sluster, a German baron who assisted a rebellious citizen, was put under the ban of the Empire but bombarded the town, and could only be repulsed with the assistance of a French seigneur at a cost of 24,000 florins. All this was like the employment of *condottieri* by Italian cities.

Episodes in the social and cultural life of Metz interested Philippe most. Whether it be his account of the kidnaping of his father and himself by brigands who exacted 500 florins for their release, or of the collapse of the bridge of Notre Dame at Paris with its sixty houses, or of the salt works at Salins visited as he went on pilgrimage, or of finely constructed Roman masonry uncovered in digging foundations in the city, or of the rebuilding of the parish church of his native village, for which he induced the villagers to contribute wine and money worth 50 *livres,* or of a servant girl burned for infanticide but breaking her bonds in frenzy because a niggardly executioner had supplied insufficient wood for the burning, or of the unsuccessful attempt of Lutherans to preach at Metz—the narrative constitutes a revealing picture of urban life of the time. The editor explains that he has made no effort to edit the chronicle as a historian, his interest being philological. Yet Volume IV, as perhaps other parts, merits such editing. With it they would become as usable as they are already illuminating.

Bryn Mawr College. H. L. Gray.

Early Tudor Government. By Kenneth Pickthorn, Fellow of Corpus Christi College and Lecturer in History in the University of Cambridge. Volume I, *Henry VII;* volume II, *Henry VIII.* (Cambridge:

University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1934. Pp. ix, 192; xiv, 564. $3.25; $7.00.)

THE first of these two volumes is a more or less systematic, topical description of English political institutions under Henry VII; the second is a running commentary on the reign of Henry VIII, designed to point out the constitutional significance of the events of that momentous time as they proceeded.

The author has confined himself apparently to material in print, but it will not be forgotten that a very large part of the available manuscript sources for both reigns has been published in some form or other. The list of authorities at the end of each volume, if not exhaustive, is adequate. It might have been made with more care for bibliographical details. An accurate title and a place and date of publication are indispensable data for reference purposes. One wonders a little why Mr. Pickthorn has included Elsynge's book on parliamentary procedure and omitted the earlier and much more valuable work of Hakewill on the same subject.

It will be convenient to consider the two volumes separately. The first one has chapters on the crown, the council, justice, parliament, and law, with a brief concluding chapter on villeins and clerics. It contains nothing new but it does bring together in convenient form the results of recent studies on these subjects and it makes some cogent observations by the way. There are many matters, to be sure, about which we should like to have more information. Considering the important place which public finance played in the whole problem of the Tudors, we should like to have had an adequate description of the way taxes were levied and collected. We should have liked something, too, about political conditions in the English towns. And we wish that economic problems, always close to the heart of Tudor sovereigns, had not been so cavalierly treated. But what we lack in these matters we gain in others. Mr. Pickthorn's comments on the military establishment, the jury, and the justice of the peace are, for example, extraordinarily good. He makes two points which taken together furnish the thesis for his whole discussion. The first is that political institutions under Henry VII were still flexible enough to be bent almost any way by a strong monarch without being broken, and the second, that the constitution of the kingdom was to a very remarkable degree dependent for its working upon the good will of the citizenry. He sums up a good deal of Tudor history in the following passage: "What the class from which justices of the peace were drawn wanted done Henry VII could get done very easily, what they did not mind being done, easily enough; what would happen if the crown should want done something which that class was determined should not be done was a question still to be settled, even still to be raised."

The larger part of the second volume deals with the period after the fall of Cardinal Wolsey and is mainly concerned with the Divorce case, the

Pilgrimage of Grace, and the dissolution of the monasteries. One cannot help feeling that Mr. Pickthorn has slighted the importance of Wolsey's contributions to English constitutional development. It was Wolsey in his combined functions of chancellor and papal legate who supplied the pattern for the Tudor conception of an undivided sovereignty in the union of those ancient rivals *regnum* and *sacerdotium*. And it was probably Wolsey also who revealed to his master the dangers of an absolutism unsupported by popular good will. What Wolsey did in fashioning the instruments of royal rule, particularly in the prerogative courts, and what he left undone in developing a working basis of co-operation between crown and parliament, were of fundamental importance for what followed.

Mr. Pickthorn's discussion of the Divorce case is admirable so far as its constitutional implications are concerned. Here as everywhere he lays great stress upon Henry's definite purpose to secure for every important step in policy statutory support. He agrees with Professor Pollard that Henry's greatest claim to distinction lay in his acceptance and application of the principle of government by consent. For the Pilgrimage of Grace he depends largely upon the standard work of Madeleine and Ruth Dodds; for the dissolution of the monasteries, upon Savine and Liljegren and Baskerville. It is rather curious to discover that he finds plenty of space to consider the fate of the dispossessed monks and little or none to point out the economic and social consequences of a step which involved the transfer to new owners of something like one sixth of all the land of England.

The Cleves marriage and the fall of Cromwell, the Howard marriage and the rise of Gardiner, are all set forth, though Cromwell gets rather more than his just deserts and Gardiner rather less than his. All the rest is more or less of the conventional pattern. Outside of the Proclamations Act and the Ferrers case there is not much of significance for constitutional development in the last decade of Henry's reign. It is, as the author himself observes, largely a matter of crossing t's and dotting i's. The religious side with its Bishop's Book and its King's Book and its Bible is more significant. Mr. Pickthorn's observations upon the constitutional implications of the establishment of the English bible are worth quoting:

> In the religious field, the establishment of the English bible was no doubt the feat which was most deeply and permanently to affect the constitution of England in one sense, and even in the specific sense it is not too fanciful to imagine that the English fidelity, in the next three centuries, at least, to case law and judicial interpretation, to government by discussion and respect for antiquity, and the English attempts to be comprehensive without being indifferent, received a great, perhaps decisive, reinforcement from the process which made the ultimate criterion for English Christianity an uncodified collection of records and caused the English hierarchy to see infallibility nowhere and probability only in the agreement of the learned.

On the personal side, of course, the last decade of Henry's reign was full of color. But Mr. Pickthorn eschews personalities—a grave mistake in a period when institutions counted for less than the men and women who manipulated them. He does let us see the old king masterful and dominating even to the end. First to last it was not rank or position or office, it was nearness to Henry that mattered.

In general there is too much public law in these volumes and not enough of all the other factors which really determined the course of public law. This manner of considering constitutional development without its economic and cultural background tends to be academic and unreal. But within the limits which he has prescribed for himself Mr. Pickthorn has written a very serviceable book, probably the best book now available on early Tudor government.

The University of Pennsylvania. CONYERS READ.

The Civil Survey, 1654–1656, County of Tipperary. Prepared for publication with introductory notes by ROBERT C. SIMINGTON, of the Quit Rent Office, Dublin. Volume I, *Eastern and Southern Baronies;* volume II, *Western and Northern Baronies with the Return of Crown and Church Lands for the Whole County.* [Irish Manuscripts Commission.] (Dublin: The Stationery Office. 1931; 1934. Pp. xxvii, 388; xxxii, 418. 10*s.*; 15*s.*)

The Chronicle of Ireland, 1584–1608, by Sir James Perrott. Edited by HERBERT WOOD, F.S.A., F.R.Hist.Soc. [Irish Manuscripts Commission.] (Dublin: The Stationery Office. 1933. Pp. viii, 199. 12*s.* 6*d.*)

WHEN news of the Irish insurrection of 1641 arrived in England, Parliament took measures for its suppression, culminating in the "Act for the speedy and effectual reducing of the rebels in His Majesty's Kingdom of Ireland". This set aside 2,500,000 acres of profitable Irish land for the repayment, at from six to twelve shillings per acre, of those who would advance money by way of adventure for that service. The king was carefully excluded from control of the money, as also of the army to be raised by its means, and although, after protest, he signed the bill, March 19, 1642, a few months later he saw a large portion of the fund used to finance the rebellion in England. When Irish resistance was finally crushed in 1653 the Commonwealth government found itself with obligations of about £300,000 to the "adventurers", and of some £1,550,000, arrears of pay, to the army. The "Act for the settling of Ireland", August 12, 1652, confiscated, in whole or in part, the estates of practically all Irish landowners, and ordered the segregation of the dispossessed in a section of the island (Clare and Connacht), while the "Act for the satisfaction of adventurers and soldiers", September

27, 1653, provided for the discharge of the obligations to both these classes out of the lands so acquired. Preliminary to this reallotment of the entire land of Ireland, a commission was issued, June 22, 1653, for three general surveys, a survey by inquisition, a survey by admeasurement, and what was called a "Gross Survey". The survey by inquisition, known as the "Civil Survey", was executed during 1654–1656 for twenty-seven of the thirty-two counties. Local commissioners were appointed, who held courts of survey in each barony, at which jurors from the old landholders were impaneled and witnesses examined. Record was taken in the most minute manner of the boundaries of baronies, parishes, and estates, of the owners (in 1640) and their tenures, of the character, extent and value of the lands, of castles, towns, churches, habitations. One set of the books of the survey, prepared in duplicate, has long since disappeared; part of the other was destroyed by a fire in the Surveyor General's Office in 1711, and the remainder by the destruction of the Public Record Office in 1922. Fortunately certified copies of these last, nearly complete for ten counties, had been placed in the Quit Rent Office and are now being published. Their extraordinary value for the topography and for the social history, national as well as local, of Ireland in the seventeenth century, is obvious.

The second work here noticed seems to have been a draft of what was designed to be a semiofficial continuation, from A. D. 1584, of that sketch of Irish history in the sixteenth century which was contributed by John Hooker to Holinshed's Chronicles. The author, Sir James Perrott, is said to have been an illegitimate son of the Sir John Perrott who was lord deputy of Ireland from 1584 to 1588. For the earlier years of the period treated, the narrative is, from the English point of view, fairly full, but it becomes fragmentary toward the end. In both publications the work of editors and printers maintains the good standard already set by the Irish Manuscripts Commission.

Public Archives of Canada. J. F. Kenney.

England in the Reign of Charles II. By David Ogg, Fellow and Tutor of New College, Oxford. Two volumes. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1934. Pp. xiv, 388; vii, 389–771. $11.00.)

In these two handsome volumes it is scarcely too much to say that Mr. Ogg has given us, on the whole, the most complete and satisfactory account of the Restoration period which has yet appeared. They contain an immense amount of information about the England and the empire of that time, from a sketch of its geology with which his book begins, to an appreciation of the talents and character of Halifax, with which it ends. Between those two extremes, almost every phase of English life, activity, and thought is touched upon; and much of it is treated with almost meticulous minuteness. If,

indeed, there is one criticism which may be passed on these volumes—and that is an ungracious and ungrateful one—it is that they are, as it were, too rich in material. It is a good fault; but it makes the telling of the story difficult; and, curiously enough, if there is one element less elaborately treated than another, it is that of political activities and development.

It may be that such a judgment is only the impression left by the relative wealth of other materials. Yet the book begins with more than a hundred pages of description of the England of 1660; it includes thereafter chapters on commerce and trade, the fighting services, revenue and taxation, two constitutional chapters, one on plantations and dependencies, and a final chapter, "A Record of Achievement"; in all roughly half of the volumes. Even the narrative chapters contain a great amount of descriptive material; so that, all in all, never before has there been gathered together such an amount of information regarding England in the Restoration period.

Inevitably, however much description explains what happened and why, it slows or interrupts the narrative; but whether that is a gain or loss, each reader must, and will, judge for himself. The story of the political activities of the reign is well and clearly told. It is based on adequate materials, in which the calendars of state papers play a leading and important part. Here and there important documents are given more or less in full, as in the case of the secret treaty of Dover; and the numerous footnotes give evidence of wide reading and research on the part of the author, and a sense of security to the reader. It is, in short, a scholarly performance. It is perhaps too much to hope that contributions to English history by American scholars should find their way to the attention of their English colleagues, but one misses in the footnotes references to various such sources of information, which might have been of assistance to even such a work as this.

As to the general thesis of the book and its specific treatment of various phases of Restoration politics, there remains something to be said. If one may take the not wholly convincing statement of the publishers that "Charles's principles of government were un-English and that it was by reaction against those principles that Englishmen achieved both constitutional government and a sense of international responsibility", as the moral of the story, it may only be remarked that this is rather the sort of generalization which an Oxford tutor might give to a promising pupil for an essay subject than what one reader, at least, gathered from the volumes.

As to specific points which suggest themselves, there is one consideration which seems worthy of note. It is that during the Restoration and Revolution periods there was an amount of what may be called underground politics scarcely paralleled in English history. This is particularly true of the reign of Charles the Second, as might be expected in an age emerging from one revolution and on the way to another, and forming, as it were, a part of

both. That was sensed by Mr. Trevelyan; but, save for the enormous attention paid to the Popish Plot, it has as yet scarcely received the attention it deserves. The influence of the Nonconformist plots on the Clarendonian legislation against dissent has long since been pointed out. There remains the underground connection between Shaftesbury, Buckingham, and the darker elements of the period, the clubs, and the relations with William of Orange, now being more minutely investigated, as factors in the great problem which leads up to that of the Revolution itself.

There is perhaps one other general consideration which may be noted. The Whig tradition dies hard; but, with all their virtues, with all the literary charm of their champions, especially Andrew Marvell, one may question whether more reliance may be placed on Whig attacks upon their antagonists in the reign of Charles II than on like party utterance today. From complete adherence to their charges Mr. Ogg is absolved; but perhaps a fairer appreciation of the period might be obtained by minimizing the influence of Marvell's satires, however unconscious that influence may have been. The roots of the Restoration run deep into the history of the preceding twenty years and more, and no historian of the period can fail to take account not only of the animosities but of the personalities of the Puritan Revolution which lived on into the reign of Charles the Second.

A great amount of careful research remains to be done before we can approach the truth of this complex and fascinating period. To its elucidation Mr. Ogg has made an admirable contribution; and one must conclude, as he began, that this is so far the most satisfactory account of Restoration England which has yet appeared, a solid, substantial, and convincing book.

Harvard University. W. C. Abbott.

Isaac Newton, 1642–1727: a Biography. By Louis Trenchard More. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1934. Pp. xii, 675. $4.50.)

Few men of science have been more acclaimed than Newton. The "Legends of superhumanity", which began early to gather about his name, have helped to perpetuate a "Newtonian myth", despite the accomplishments of modern physics and greater knowledge of Newton's character. A well-balanced treatment of his life and of his place in the history of science has been needed. Professor More's volume is an exhaustive reappraisal of Newton. In addition to the available printed material, the author, himself a physicist, has made full use of the Portsmouth Collection; some of it is printed for the first time in this biography.

Professor More's examination of Newton's interests shows the mind of the great physicist to have been a confusing mixture. By flashes of genius Newton made three great discoveries in his twenties—the calculus, the composition of light, and universal gravitation. His change of residence from

Cambridge to London at the time of the Revolution of 1688, led to an "abrupt cessation from scientific work". A short time in Parliament was followed by much-sought preferment when Newton became Master of the Mint, a sinecure he held for thirty years. The later years were consumed in social activities and in studies, largely fruitless, of theology, prophecy, and chronology. There is no doubt that he believed his work in religious and mystical speculation more important than his work in science. And even as a scientist Newton had a blind eye. He took seriously vestiges of astrological lore—already discarded by many minds—and labored at finding a formula which would transmute baser metals into gold. Like so many of his scientific contemporaries, Newton mixed mathematics and theology, physics and miracles, in a hopeless tangle. He declared that natural law was suspended for purposes of miraculous revelation previous to Christ's death, and he was much upset when Leibnitz declared that his mechanistic hypothesis made God into a supermechanic. Newton's study of Scripture led him to Unitarian views, but he appears to have been uninfluenced by the more skeptical thought then current.

Professor More gives much space to the unseemly controversies with Leibnitz, Hooke, and Flamsteed. Whether they deserve so much attention or not, these quarrels show Newton to have been suspicious, jealous, and morbidly sensitive. Dr. More makes it clear that any blame for delay in Newton's work because of difficulty in obtaining data from Flamsteed, the astronomer royal, "rests on Newton alone". The author also reaffirms the independent discovery of the calculus by Leibnitz.

The volume is marred by faults that make it difficult to use. Long letters of Newton, reprinted at length, would be more useful in an appendix. Much space is taken by digressions hardly needed in a life of Newton, such as those on the invention of the telescope, the history of the Royal Society—coming strangely toward the end of the volume—and the history of the mechanistic hypothesis from the Greeks to Descartes. The narrative is rendered discursive by the large inclusion of much in the nature of gossip and of what the author calls "interesting anecdotes". At times the narrative becomes almost a chronicle, the result probably of the difficulty of selecting from an embarrassment of riches. Dr. More's apparent lack of sympathetic appreciation for the work of modern physicists makes it difficult to see Newton in his true relation to the advances made since his time.

Marston Moor and Naseby were not fought in the eastern counties (p. 1), "consubstantiation" usually refers to the Lutheran idea of the sacrament (p. 644), Democritus is a doubtful nominee for the "most learned of the Greeks" (p. 254), and Galileo was not the inventor of the telescope. If he be given that honor, then Leibnitz is even more clearly the discoverer of

the calculus. The index is hopelessly inadequate and the volume lacks a bibliography, either of Newton's own writings or the voluminous literature about him.

Miami University. HOWARD ROBINSON.

French Nationalism in 1789 according to the General Cahiers. By BEATRICE FRY HYSLOP. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1934. Pp. xviii, 343. $3.75.)

THE discussion of nationalism in the seminar conducted by Professor Hayes at Columbia University has been productive of several excellent theses. This is one of them. Miss Hyslop selected the general cahiers of 1789 as a basis for a study of French nationalism on the eve of the Revolution, because these documents, despite their limitations, represent in a unique way the collective opinion of groups all over France.

The first task was to locate and verify the texts of the cahiers of 1789, and to differentiate between the general and the preliminary. In the author's *Répertoire critique des cahiers* (Paris, 1933), published by the French government as a volume in the *Collection de documents inédits,* this task has been brilliantly performed. For the projected study, she found 522 general cahiers available and 93 missing. Since the latter represented widely dispersed districts, their absence could hardly invalidate conclusions.

As the next step, Miss Hyslop analyzed French nationalism and reduced it to its basic elements. With these before her as criteria, she set out to discover from the general cahiers of 1789 "what stage in its development French nationalism had reached on the eve of the French Revolution". The results of her efforts are embodied in four well-written chapters dealing with nationality, democracy, *étatisme,* and patriotism. In a final chapter she divides the general cahiers into five categories with respect to the degree of nationalism reflected. A chart and an accompanying map indicate graphically the nature of the nationalist opinion among the several classes of the electoral districts, as well as the general geographical distribution of such opinion. Study of the map reveals that "the whole north central area radiating from Paris, stretching through Burgundy and the Dauphiné, and including a disjointed region in the west at La Rochelle, was most nationalist. It was this area that supplied the nationalist program and a large proportion of the nationalist leaders for the French Revolution." The northern, northeastern, and southwestern regions were strongholds of 'conservative nationalism'. An appendix of fifty pages relieves the footnotes of charts and tabulations; the select bibliography is well arranged, and the index is satisfactory.

Miss Hyslop's major service, so it seems to the reviewer, has been rendered by her location and verification of the texts of the cahiers of 1789; a service

comparable to that rendered by Armand Brette. The present study is a fine exercise in historical method and shows what the cahiers can be made to yield under proper treatment. The author has defined her terms carefully, and has achieved a convincing synthesis of nationalist opinion in France on the eve of the Revolution. Although the cahiers are the best gauge of public opinion that we have for that period, it is to be hoped that the present study will be supplemented by the study of nationalism in other sources of the period.

The University of North Carolina. MITCHELL B. GARRETT.

A Decade of Revolution, 1789–1799. By CRANE BRINTON, Harvard University. [The Rise of Modern Europe, edited by William L. Langer.] (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1934. Pp. x, 330. $3.75.)

THIS volume represents a successful attempt to reinterpret the Revolution in the light of modern research. Such a task is not easy and exception may be taken to some of the views presented, for, with all the mass of published material, there are still unexplored areas and the field is highly controversial even in many of its better known aspects. The author admittedly writes "sociological history", but let me hasten to assure any who may have developed a complex against this blend that, whether because of it or in spite of it, the quality of his history is good. His treatment is judicious. His characterizations are apt. His writing is clear and vigorous with often an incisive observation that puts the issue in a new light or settles some disputed point more effectively than a page of argument. Attention should be called to two chapters that are especially well done: "The Republic of Virtue" which is in part an explanation of revolutionary philosophy and the final chapter which attempts to answer the question as to what the Revolution did to ordinary men.

For the earlier period, the most significant revisionist tendency has been to put more purpose and preparation into the Revolution. To a large extent it has been robbed of that spontaneity so dear to republican historians. Formerly it was the liberals who accused royalists and counter-revolutionaries of plotting. But now the tables are turned and the reformers are indicted for planning the elections of the third estate to the Estates-General, the actions of the National Assembly on June 17, 20, and 23, the uprisings of July 14 and October 5 and 6, etc. Plotting is doubtless too strong a word, for Professor Brinton is not an advocate of the conspiracy theory. He maintains, for example, that the simultaneous establishment of the new municipal governments throughout France after the fall of the Bastille "can plausibly be interpreted as an indication of widespread organization of the revolutionary party—not organization in the sense of plotting, but political organiza-

tion of an active minority with a definite program" (p. 35). In spite of his general preference for the views of Mathiez over those of Aulard, he does not hesitate to disagree with him. Perhaps most significant is his divergence from Mathiez over the socialism of Robespierre and the Jacobins. Their confiscation of private property and price fixing was merely a war measure directed against the enemies of the Republic and they took pains to explain that it was in no sense an attack upon the sacred right of property. "The men who made the Terror were not thinking in terms of economics" (p. 137). Of Robespierre himself he says that from his writings "no such person as Mathiez imagined can be made out". He had many of the qualities of a second-rate preacher. "His speeches were sermons, edifying to the faithful, quite empty to the unbeliever" (p. 108). And at last a good word must be said for the Directory. This government "was not strikingly efficient, nor popular, but it was neither corrupt nor incompetent", and "it had begun to put France in order" (pp. 244, 221).

There is comparatively little to criticize in this work. Unless it be assumed that a constitutional monarchy and a republic are one and the same thing (and they doubtless have many common features), it is difficult to accept Professor Brinton's view that "the Jacobins were almost from the first working towards a republic" (p. 21). He himself seems to make a distinction later when he states that the Jacobins abandoned their "inconsistent ideal of a monarchical republic" after the king's flight to Varennes and for the most part became "out-and-out republicans" (p. 52). In view of the growing significance of nationalism, it is hard to explain the omission of any treatment of the federation movement which culminated in the great fête of July 14, 1790. An excellent "Note on Historiography" is followed by a critical bibliography which contains the more important monographs and studies on the period. Another valuable feature is the inclusion, in a single block, of thirty-two pages devoted to reproductions of contemporary scenes, portraits, and caricatures. This volume augurs well for the new series under the editorship of Professor Langer.

The State University of Iowa. GEORGE GORDON ANDREWS.

Friedrich Engels: Eine Biographie. Von GUSTAV MAYER. Zwei Bände. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1934. Pp. ix, 393; viii, 385. Bound, 13.50 Gld.; unbound, 10 Gld.)

So much has been written about Friedrich Engels, since his death thirty-nine years ago, by such eminent authorities as Ernst Drahn, Werner Sombart, and others, that an additional new biography would hardly seem called for. Nevertheless, Gustav Mayer, favorably known by his previous studies in this field, after twenty years of research, covering the literary estate of Engels

himself, Marx, Bebel, John Burns, Karl Kautsky, Adelheid Popp, and other contemporaries of Engels, as well as the Prussian State Archives and those of the Social Democratic party in Berlin and the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute in Moscow, has adduced so much new, hitherto unpublished material that Franz Mehring, the well-known Marx biographer, was led to remark that Engels had been rediscovered. Given this wealth of fresh source material, Mayer has written a biography which contains so many intrinsic features that it deserves to be ranked among the foremost studies of Engels and his life work.

Volume I deals with Engels's early years, when this scion of a leading Rhenish industrial family, devout Calvinistic Pietists, realized the baneful social and economic effects of the rising capitalistic system upon the textile workers of his native Wupperthal. Followers of Adolf Weber's theory of the correlation of modern capitalism and Calvinism will find much to substantiate their views in chapters 1 and 2. Many colorful touches, based largely on letters to his favorite sister Marie and other close friends, make Mayer's account of Engels's wander years doubly interesting as well as informative: how he came under the influence of Hegelian philosophy in Berlin, and cast the religion of his parental home overboard in exchange for communism; his first, rather frosty meeting with Karl Marx in Cologne; the subsequent years of his political and social apprenticeship in Belgium, France, and finally in England, where contacts with the Chartist movement, the Owenites, the English socialists, and the proletarian elements of Manchester, broadened and matured the young agitator's views; his return to the Continent and participation in the revolt in Baden and the Palatinate in 1848.

Volume II begins with Engels's return to England in 1849, where thereafter he made his permanent home, and where, first as head of the large textile firm of Ermen and Engels in Manchester (1850–1869) and later, having retired from active business and moved to London, he became one of the intellectual leaders of modern international communism.

All his life Engels was an indefatigable student. While engaged in active business he was obliged to carry on his studies and writing nights and Sundays. Now at last he found sufficient time to devote himself wholly to his favorite studies: history, economics, languages (he spoke twenty-five), and to develop his views concerning the materialistic conception of history. And now, also, that close collaboration became possible between him and Karl Marx, which was as unique as it has been rare in the history of economic thought. Mayer treats this phase of Engels's life with such an intimate knowledge of the surrounding circumstances and from so many new angles that this volume is much more than what its title would indicate. It is a new contribution to the history of Marx and of Marxism.

The symbiosis of these two heralds of modern proletarianism here stands

out in plastic relief. The methodical Engels, trained in the school of life, combining a universality of knowledge and wide practical experience with a facile and productive pen, whose gift of quick orientation, enthusiasm, sunny bonhomie, and loving, self-sacrificing attachment (he gave from his own means upwards of £4000 to Marx and the latter's family), contrasts sharply with the deeper, dialectically more original, but mentally and physically more inelastic Marx, whose brilliant, epigrammatic diction, fondness for striking antitheses, and remarkable gift of synthesis, combined with inherited rabbinical characteristics, are so freely discernible in the joint literary productions of these two men. Isolated, without power or party, these intellectual *conquistadores* developed the ideas and shaped the tactics which challenged contemporary society and whose rallying cry "Proletarians of all lands, unite!" eventually circled the globe.

The student of American history will find much that has formerly been treated rather meagerly, if at all, in current publications on the history of socialism in this country, in the chapters dealing with the Civil War; the articles contributed at the request of Charles A. Dana for the New York *Tribune,* 1851–1852 and 1857–1858, and to Dana's *New American Cyclopædia* (most of which were written by Engels but appeared under Marx's signature); Engels's visit to the United States and Canada in 1888, and Engels's correspondence with Adolf Cluss, Josef Weydemeyer, and others residing in the United States.

The scholarly approach, admirable technique, objectivity, and lucid style of the author, as well as the many human traits and intimate glimpses of Engels, Marx, Bakunin, Lassalle, and of some of the younger generation like Millerand and Jaurès, Sidney Webb and others, add to the many merits of this eminent work. Both volumes contain valuable source references. Volume II contains separate indexes by names and topics, covering both volumes. The frontispiece to Volume I represents Engels in his younger years, that in Volume II Engels in 1890.

Georgetown University. WILLIAM F. NOTZ.

Souvenirs de Charles Benoist, membre de l'Institut, ancien député de Paris, ancien ministre de France à la Haye. Tome III, *1902–1933.* (Paris: Librairie Plon. 1934. Pp. 495, xxxvi. 36 fr.)

THIS third volume of *Souvenirs* marks the last phase of the active life of Charles Benoist. It opens with a decided change in the author's existence; from the year 1902 he continued as a writer, but at the same time he entered public life first as a deputy and later as an envoy of France to The Hague.

The first part of the volume is concerned with the internal history of France during the early twentieth century. It would serve as a good companion piece to that excellent little book of André Siegfried, *France: a Study*

in Nationality. In M. Siegfried's work one learns about the machinery of the Third Republic; in this part of M. Benoist's *Souvenirs* one may see the machinery at work. The first chapter gives a detailed account of Benoist's own political campaign, an account that is at one and the same time a narrative and a criticism. The author points out the organization, inner workings, and power of the local *comité électoral,* but he does not hesitate to remark upon the abuses of the system and the ambition of the *comité* to invade even the field of the legislature. He protests against the creation of "tout un faux pays légal, toute une croûte dévorante, qui se plaque sur le pays réal et qui l'étouffe". It was during this early period of his active political career that Benoist began to lose his faith in republican principles and practices.

His first experience in campaigning put to flight many of his preconceived illusions about democracy and what he found shortly after his arrival in the Chamber was instrumental in turning him against the prevailing practices of government in France. It was the age of the *Système Combes* when the Combes ministry and its allies of the Left manufactured their policies outside of the legislature and brought them *toutes cuites* to the Chamber. When Benoist first appeared in it, the Chamber presented a galaxy of varied and well-known figures some of whom were nearing the end of their terms, others of whom were making their début as leaders. Alexandre Ribot, fearless, cruel in debate, classic in speech, and Edouard Aynard of Lyons, great banker, political magnate, collector, and restorer of the exquisite abbey of Fontenay, were the powers of a conservative opposition. Jaurès, fiery, dangerous, but respected by all, and Aristide Briand led factions of the Extreme Left. Occasionally, too, at this time, there appeared Clemenceau, "vieux Carabin, recouvrant d'un vernis de gouaille Montmartroise un fonds d'aristocratisme caché sous la carmagnole, mais lui plus révolutionnaire que démocrate, sinon anti-démocrate". M. Benoist possesses a gift for character portrayal and this section of the *Souvenirs* is filled with clear-cut, well-defined portraits of the passing and future leaders of France. He presents a vivid description of this epoch *d'avant guerre* when statesmen battled mercilessly over questions of parliamentary reform, socialism, church lands, religion, and party monopolies. It was the period when bureaucratic government became developed to the n^{th} degree, when *Combisme* carried party sympathy down even into the ranks of the army and placed black marks opposite the names of Foch, Pétain, and Fayolle because they went to Mass. France was having her bout in the realm of ideas before being faced with the awful reality of war. In fact, in the opinion of M. Benoist, political battling prevented an intelligent realization on the part of Frenchmen at large of what was happening in the rest of the world. It is M. Benoist's belief that *Combisme* and what followed were the causes of France's perceiving too late the drift toward war. An eloquent and able opposition

warned the government and called for a truce, but a stubborn radicalism would not relent; with the result that, when the crisis came, the country was torn and politically exhausted.

The period of the war itself found Benoist first in Italy where his duty was to sound out opinion. There he met and talked with Italian statesmen and with Benedict XV who claimed that he was isolated from contacts with France. Part of the blame for this situation the pope placed upon the curia and part upon the French Republic that had broken off formal relations with the Vatican. During the second half of the war Benoist was occupied with writing the military and political *chronique* for the *Revue des deux mondes.* Shortly after the cessation of hostilities he was named French minister to The Hague. Book IV relates the French side of the story of the arrival and settlement of the ex-Kaiser in Holland. At the conclusion of his mission, he served as preceptor for the son of the present pretender to the throne of France.

The concluding section of the book contains the results of the author's long experience as an observer and participant in European politics—the abandonment of his original political creed. And yet, one suspects, M. Benoist would not accept the expression abandonment: he still believed in the democracy of the city-state as he had learned of it, earlier in his youth, from the Italian historians, but he no longer believed in the democracy of the large state.

Yale University. J. M. S. Allison.

Foreign Relations in British Labour Politics: a Study of the Formation of Party Attitudes on Foreign Affairs, and the Application of Political Pressure designed to influence Government Policy, 1900–1924. By William P. Maddox, Instructor in Government, Harvard University. [Harvard Political Studies.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1934. Pp. xv, 253. $2.50.)

When in 1917 the British Labor party proposed to send delegates to an international conference at Stockholm Lord Hugh Cecil stated contemptuously to the House of Commons that Labor was unfit mentally and by training to deal with such questions as would be discussed there and that he would as soon send a child of three up in control of an airplane as to entrust those problems to their guidance. Such assumptions of Labor's ignorance and incapacity were widespread, but within a few years their falsity was demonstrated when in two brief periods of office the party won its greatest triumphs in the field of foreign affairs. Why that happened is explained by this excellent detailed study which is a pioneer work in its field.

The author's approach is analytical rather than historical. By the use of data from the period between the founding of the Labor party and its first

tenure of power (1900–1924) he undertakes to determine the manner in which it developed its policies with respect to foreign affairs and to expose the political technique by which it attempted to influence the government to adopt them.

Part I surveys the rise of the Labor party, the ideology of its members, and the nature of its leadership. The rank and file of the movement, desirous mostly of altering the domestic environment, were seldom aware of the necessity of considering anything so remote as international relations. The initiative in the latter, accordingly, usually came from above. Some of the leaders most interested in foreign affairs came from the educated classes and often preferred to remain out of active politics, while the effective leaders with command over the masses were usually trade unionists or socialists of humble origin. The author regards the fortunate combination of the two types as a major factor in Labor's success in questions of foreign affairs after the war.

Part II deals with the formulation of Labor policy and the methods of propaganda and pressure. With the increased interest in international problems after the war efforts were made to insure a better informed leadership. Special investigating committees went abroad to secure firsthand information. Permanent research services were established and a great debt was due the Labor Research Department (originally Fabian), the Joint Research Department of the Trades Union Congress and the Labor party, and the Information Bureau of the Independent Labor party. Unique in the organization of political parties, however, was the Advisory Committee on International Questions. On this body, ranging from ten to forty in number, have served such distinguished authorities as C. R. Buxton, Noel Buxton, Sidney Webb, Norman Angell, H. N. Brailsford, Hugh Dalton, G. D. H. Cole, G. Lowes Dickinson, C. P. Trevelyan, A. J. Toynbee, Bertrand Russell, and E. D. Morel. They have been invaluable in assisting the party leaders in the formation of an instructed, co-ordinated, and democratic foreign policy. As a result the information of the Labor party at times has been more complete and authoritative than that of the Foreign Office itself. Once formulated there was the effort to urge the party policy on the government and the author gives a full discussion of Labor propaganda, the work of its press, the part of the parliamentary party, and the significance of the international aspect of the movement.

Because of the analytical approach the book is not always easy reading. The few inaccuracies noted are of minor significance.

Stanford University. CARL F. BRAND.

Documents diplomatiques français, 1871–1914. Série 2 (1901–1911), tome V, 9 *avril–31 décembre 1904;* série 3 (1911–1914), tome VI,

15 mars–30 mai 1913; tome VII, *31 mai–10 août, 1913.* [Ministère des Affaires étrangères, Commission de publication des Documents relatifs aux origines de la guerre de 1914.] (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1934. Pp. xl, 655; xliv, 798; xxxvi, 666. 60 fr. each.)

VOLUME V of the second series of French documents covers the nine months from the signing of the Anglo-French Moroccan Convention of April 8, 1904, to the departure of the Taillandier Mission to impose upon the sultan arrangements which would make Morocco virtually a French protectorate. It adds relatively little to what we already know from the British documents in regard to a number of subjects—negotiations for Spain's adherence to the Morocco Convention, Russian annoyance at the Younghusband Mission to Tibet, the Dogger Bank incident, the seizure of neutral vessels by the Russian volunteer fleet, and the question of the exit of the Russian Black Sea Fleet through the Dardanelles. In all these matters France and England now co-operated closely to smooth each other's path.

New, however, are the interesting details of French loans—800 million francs to Russia, 65 million to Serbia of which 8 million was to be spent for French railway material, 26 million to Bulgaria for 81 batteries of Creusot guns, and 62 million to Morocco. Noteworthy is the close connection between the political and economic aspects of these loans. In almost every case the French government brought pressure to make sure that a large part of the borrowed money should be spent in France for munitions or railway material. When Russia bought equipment from Germany and England there was a sharp complaint on the part of France; the Russians made excuses and at once ordered 13 million francs worth of war supplies from French firms (pp. 530–532, 567–569). In view of the political and economic importance of loans France tried to prevent these countries from borrowing from Germany. Nevertheless, Russia placed a loan for 500 million marks with a consortium of German and Dutch banks, owing to her needs in the war with Japan (p. 630).

German strategic railways toward Belgium, together with alarming words from the German ambassador and the revelations of the mysterious German "vengeance man" (recently revealed by M. Paléologue but not mentioned in these documents) caused Paléologue to make a special trip to London to consult the British. Other notable matters are the dispute with the British about railways and influence in Abyssinia, the rupture of relations with the Vatican, the constant pressure on the sultan of Morocco, and a curiously frank statement of policy by Admiral von Tirpitz to the French ambassador in Rome.

Volume VI of the third series reveals in minute detail the kaleidoscopic diplomatic intrigues and conflicts of interest in the Balkans during the

negotiations for peace with Turkey and the growing friction between the Balkan Allies over the fatal division of the spoils. While Nicholas of Montenegro continued to defy the Great Powers by besieging and capturing Scutari and secretly played the Vienna stock exchange, the Powers debated on how much "economic aid" or territorial compensation would suffice to bribe him to leave off keeping Europe on the verge of a general war. No attempt can be made to follow this Balkan tangle. Noticeable, however, was the nervousness and changeableness of Sazonov and the unreliability of Izvolski. Paléologue gives dramatic accounts of the way he twice had to take Izvolski to task (pp. 277–279, 544–545). Russia's actions several times got on French nerves, so that the French officials were really on more intimate and confidential terms with their English friends than their Russian allies. Sir Edward Grey as usual emphasized the need of preserving the Concert of Europe in the London Conference of Ambassadors, though at times the obstinacy and selfishness of others sorely tried his patience.

There are long reports from Berlin on the new German military law and on the general increase of armaments everywhere that was occasioned by the dangers to the peace of Europe growing out of the Balkan Wars. The French military attaché in Berlin seemed to think that if a European war broke out the great battle would take place in Lorraine rather than on the Belgian front (p. 111), but a little later the French came into possession of the so-called Ludendorff Memorandum of which Grey was allowed to make a copy (pp. 256–263).

Several references to a "secret and sure" source of information suggest that the French had access to the German or Italian secret diplomatic cipher. Two incidents—the forced landing of a Zeppelin at Lunéville and an attack on German tourists at Nancy—which might easily have led to serious diplomatic friction with Germany, were happily dealt with by correct diplomacy and good will on both sides. The account of the interparliamentary peace conference at Berne indicates that it received little serious consideration from the French government, partly because it was mainly composed of socialists and adopted resolutions concerning Alsace and the Bryan arbitration treaties.

Volume VII, covering less than two and a half months, reveals in detail the tragic jealousies between the Balkan Allies which finally culminated in the fourfold campaign against the faithless and overambitious Bulgaria, ending in the Peace of Bucharest. Meanwhile the Conference of Ambassadors, sitting in London, still managed to prevent the conflagration from spreading to the rest of Europe, and sought to reconcile the territorial claims and rivalries between the belligerents. These problems occupy nine tenths of the volume. Other matters briefly illumined are the government of Tangier and Morocco, the French desire to lend Russia half a billion francs a year for

strategic railways and increased armaments, Turkish finances and the Bagdad Railway, China's need of funds, and the mutual suspicions of the Triple Alliance and Triple Entente.

Harvard University. SIDNEY B. FAY.

War Memoirs of David Lloyd George. Volumes III, IV, 1916–1917. (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company. 1934. Pp. x, 597; 603. $4.00 each.)

"POLITICIANS make us soldiers sick", writes a British major general, "soldiers being perchance too straight and honest for them". Most soldiers would undoubtedly be made sick by Lloyd George's third and fourth volumes, for they recount a politician's attempts to rescue the war from the hands of the soldiers. The war had "been manoeuvered by the military command", asserts the author, "into a war of exhaustion". Admirals and generals having failed to win a decision in arms, the war was prolonged and transformed from a professional military or naval conflict into an endurance contest wherein labor, food, transportation, and the morale of the home front were as vital as trench lines. The handling of these diverse concerns was eminently a politician's job. It is doubtful if even the soldiers can deny Lloyd George's success therein. By a series of brilliant "improvisations" —a revolution every half-hour, Balfour remarked—he created new ministries and new deals for the all-important labor problems and their affiliated interests, for food production, for rationing necessaries, for shipping control, for a united air force; he strengthened public morale by "the most important electoral reform since 1832", and tightened the bonds of empire with an imperial war cabinet and imperial conferences including even representatives from India.

But when he turned to the task of winning the actual fight on sea and land, the main theme of these volumes, the prime minister encountered the resistance and wrath of the professional fighters. He found that "there is no wrath like the cold fury of the professional spirit proved wrong by outsiders, and no folly comparable to its reactions under such conditions". Does Lloyd George prove the professionals wrong? He submits cogent argument and substantial evidence. Your reviewer, having been only a civilian soldier "for the duration", thinks that he establishes the broad lines of his case. His presentation is often oversimple, inadequate in perhaps some details, and thoroughly partisan, but in his major contentions refutation is difficult.

When he assumed the prime minister's office, the submarine was winning the war. That, even the admirals could not deny. The "stunned pessimism" of the admiralty demonstrated a helplessness which challenged the energy and resourceful fertility of the politician. He injected an aggressively new

spirit into naval affairs; he revealed the errors, fatal to morale, in admiralty statistics, assaulted the discipline of the service by consulting subordinates and outsiders to break the official impasse, effected a more economical pooling of naval and merchant shipping, and virtually coerced a trial of the convoy defense against submarines. He does not emphasize the moral and material assistance which the United States contributed to these efforts, but he can say that within six months of his beginning to fight, the submarine tide had turned. His régime is entitled to at least some of the credit; as he ruefully remarks, "the bureaucrats govern and the politicians share the praise, but monopolize the blame".

On land, two years of Allied effort had failed, in spite of superior numbers and resources, to produce much beyond mounting casualty lists. The generals pointed to the "attrition of the enemy's man power", but Lloyd George stressed the menace to the home man power; he declared that "attrition is always the game of the poorer player . . . an afterthought of beaten generals to explain away defeat or perhaps to extract some residue of credit from a bad scheme badly handled". The battle of the casualty statistics has raged from that day to this, and the question of whether the British killed five Germans for every three British dead, or vice versa, is still—as in the case of so many other statistics—dependent on the interpreter. Lloyd George asserts that the staff casualty figures were neither candid, nor honestly interpreted, nor fully presented to the war cabinet. He accuses the military staffs of failing to see the war as a whole, of fighting a series of separate wars, and of adherence to inapplicable military doctrines involving the concentration of strength against the enemy's main forces. They continued to plan as though mobile operations were still feasible, and held enormous masses of cavalry ready to charge a break-through—incidentally requiring, in the midst of acute shipping distress, a large amount of transport for fodder—whereas the war had become in reality an affair of siege in which the power of the defensive had rendered obsolete the doctrine of attacking concentrated strength. Their reasons for objecting to a policy, advocated by Pétain, of standing on the defensive until the American troops gave that overwhelming preponderance which could crush even defensive resistance, meanwhile employing forces where there was a reasonable prospect of breaking the morale of Germany's allies, were often inconsistent and contrasted feebly with the actual practice of just such a policy by Germany.

He criticizes the generals for being unwilling to constitute a unity of command and of strategy, each general being suspicious of the others and placing national pride before the common cause. He found that no French general, for example, would tolerate a joint major offensive on the Italian front because, besides other objections, a contingent victory would be Cadorna's and, more important, France could not contemplate an enhance-

ment of Italian power and prestige. He condemns some of the individual military chiefs on grounds that they thought too much of personal kudos and failed in teamwork; he deplores their lack of imagination, their resourcelessness, and their opposition to new things. There is no profession, he says, "where experience and training count less in comparison with judgment and flair". Changes in mechanism and speed demand flexibility, resourcefulness, and initiative as more essential to success in the soldier's vocation than in any other. Existing means of producing generals do not tend to nourish flexibility and initiative. The military hierarchy, "in bondage to professional etiquette", and restrained by a discipline wherein "the merest breath of criticism on any military operation is far too often dismissed as an intrigue against the commander-in-chief", had failed to produce leaders who could cope with twentieth century warfare.

Similar strictures are, of course, familiar to students of almost every war. Too frequently, however, they represent the grievance of disgruntled soldiers, or the notions of inexperienced theorists, or, worst of all, the visionary thesis of the pacifist. Here, however, they emanate from a keen and experienced official, in the highest and best position to know, whose capacity for penetrating the heart of a problem, stripping away pretense and "good form", and talking straight out is almost unparalleled. Lord Riddell's memoirs give much evidence of these qualities of Lloyd George, particularly his penetrating assessment of values in both men and things. These defects in the military system constitute one of the horrors of war and are as irreconcilable with any rational, scientific order of society as the existence of war itself. As yet no system has been worked out whereby military genius, any more than the genius of statesmanship, can be guaranteed to fill positions of high command. It is not unfair, nevertheless, that the myth of military infallibility should receive approximately as much exposure as the "truth about the politicians". Lloyd George is at one with Pierrefeu in holding that "Plutarch lied"—at least about military heroes.

But Lloyd George's criticism was not merely destructive. He had constructive plans. For 1917 he urged a strong joint Allied attack on the Italian front to put Austria out of the war, and an effective attempt, via Egypt, to knock out the Turk. Conditions were known to be bad in both the Dual Monarchy and Turkey; they had become liabilities to Germany. Success in either attempt might not only bring decisive results, but also render assistance to Russia before revolutionary disintegration carried her out of the war. This plan was what Lloyd George called "viewing the war as a whole". What might have resulted is, obviously, mere speculation. In the realm of what did happen to the plan of the professionals, however, he was a realist—practical and prescient. He did not believe in repeating the futile and disastrous attacks on the Western Front, certainly not until "reasonable

conditions of success" prevailed. He was skeptical of the professional estimates of these conditions and said so, early and emphatically. Contrary to widely held opinion, he was not an advocate of Nivelle's offensive (April, 1917), but when it became inevitable he supported it with his sanction for a temporary unity of command. After this experience, he relentlessly opposed Haig's project for the Flanders attack (July-December). His opposition was based on common sense and the judgment and flair which he demanded of generals, and which goes far to justify his criticism of them. It was not armchair strategy or hindsight; it was accurate diagnosis, accurate to the point of being prophetic. Lloyd George turned out to be right and the generals wrong. His "amateur" strategic judgment was incontrovertibly vindicated—400,000 casualties and no appreciable strategic gains. It is not unreasonable that he should consequently claim that a fraction of the men thus lost, employed in the Italian theater, could have driven the Austrians at least as far back into really vital areas, as the enemy, in spite of the "attrition" of Flanders fields, drove the Italians at Caporetto. Or that the cavalry, held in reserve to gallop over the quagmire and through the breach that never came at Passchendaele, might have carried Allenby's advance a year earlier to Aleppo. Or, again, he is not entirely unjustified in contending that the initial success of the "tank battle" of Cambrai, late in 1917, confirmed his strategic judgment in emphasizing the necessity of surprise and new methods —an initial success which might have been decisively exploited instead of terminating in costly failure, had a tithe of the troops wasted at Passchendaele been available as reserves.

In their resistance to the prime minister's interference the staff discounted the possibilities of surprise, although as Lord Milner observed, "we were always told that we could not surprise the enemy, yet the enemy has always surprised us". The staff concealed its plans for Flanders from the war cabinet, failed to convey pertinent information and opinion from the French army, and worked up a press campaign which consistently created in the public mind an entirely false impression of continued victories—in short, the staff, in some phases of its lawful responsibility to the cabinet, engaged in practices suspiciously like those which soldiers customarily attribute to the shifty politicians.

To the query as to why he did not replace Field Marshal Haig, in whose leadership he had decreasing confidence, Lloyd George replies that one of the conditions on which his cabinet was formed prevented any immediate change in the military command. He doubted also that a change would be tolerated by a public unaware of the actual military conditions. He had, moreover, no general whom he thought would be any improvement. The remedy which he indomitably sought was an interallied council combining ministers and soldiers of the highest rank, not to command but to co-ordinate

strategy, compel a comprehensive policy, and conserve the failing man power. To secure this result, he had to confront in Parliament an opposition led by Asquith but created by soldiers under the inspiration of Field Marshal Robertson. Armed with a letter from President Wilson stressing the necessity for a unified command, and threatening himself to go into opposition and reveal what he knew of the military situation, Lloyd George carried his design and thus prepared the way for that ultimate unity of command enforced by the disasters of March, 1918.

In this story of conflict with the professional spirit, it is possible to see Lloyd George as the pamphleteer making a case, establishing his own greatness, seeking self-justification by blackening the repute of those who doubted the soundness of his views, accusing his opponents of deficiencies of will as well as brains, gratifying his vendettas. His picture may seem too perfect, too simple. "Can any statesman in the fog of war", it has been asked, "have been so often right? Can any commander, however eminent, have been so often astray"? Probably not. But it is also possible to see in Lloyd George a genius intolerant of incompetence and of sins against the light, a politician at least as patriotic as the soldiers, and as unwilling to see his country defeated, if anything—even new and untried—could save it. In the exercise of the power of the state genius and discipline are perhaps incompatible, and so long as there are wars it may be impossible to effect a perfect adjustment. Lloyd George's books, at any rate, should enable the public to learn something about the problems which inevitably arise when the nation commits itself, however well prepared, to the uncertainty of war.

Amherst College. LAURENCE B. PACKARD.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

The Explorers of North America. By JOHN BARTLET BREBNER, Columbia University. [The Pioneer Histories, edited by V. T. Harlow and J. A. Williamson.] (London: A. and C. Black; New York: Macmillan Company. 1933. Pp. xv, 502. $3.50.)

THIS is an excellent book, admirably conceived and well executed. It is one of the series of "Pioneer Histories" edited by the English scholars V. T. Harlow and J. A. Williamson. Besides the present volume there have appeared: Newton, *European Nations in the West Indies;* Foster, *England's Quest of Eastern Trade;* Prestage, *The Portuguese Pioneers;* Walker, *The Great Trek,* and Kirkpatrick, *The Spanish Conquistadores.* Still another is announced: Beaglehole, *The Exploration of the Pacific.* These titles indicate the comprehensive view of early European overseas expansion taken by the editors, an outlook quite in harmony with that of a rapidly growing group of

scholars on this side of the Atlantic. For the Western Hemisphere the series provides an introduction to the history of all the Americas, from the Strait of Magellan to the frozen North. The volumes will do much to help Americans of the different nations to correct the shortcomings of the narrowly nationalistic treatment of Western Hemisphere history which used to be in vogue.

Professor Brebner's volume portrays the panorama of European exploration in North America. It treats colonization only incidentally, for it is devoted to pathbreakers. It is a vivid story of sailors skirting the outer coasts, and of missionaries, gold hunters, soldiers, adventurers, fur gatherers, horse traders, and surveyors, pushing their way into and across the continent. It embraces the area from Panama to the Arctic seas, and the period from Columbus to the time when most of the major regions of the continent had been visited by Europeans. The comprehensive plan of the volume—so different in concept from the conventional books on American exploration—is revealed by the chapter titles: I, Columbus and the Lures of the Continent; II, Preludes to Mexico; III, Stout Cortés; IV, Aftermaths of Mexico; V, Empires of Dream; VI, Facing Realities; VII, The Enigma of the North Atlantic; VIII, Kingdoms in the North; IX, From Fish to Fur; X, Champlain and the Young Men; XI, Missions and Wars at the Sweetwater Sea; XII, The Struggle for the Inland Seas; XIII, The Northern Entry; XIV, A Use for the Northern Entry; XV, Past the Iroquois to the South; XVI, Probings from the Coastal Colonies; XVII, From Hudson Bay to the Gulf of Mexico; XVIII, The Race for the Control of the Mississippi; XIX, Reaching Out towards New Spain; XX, The Crossroads of the Continent; XXI, Political and Other Interludes, 1750–1803; XXII, First Response to the Russians: Spanish California; XXIII, Second Response: Mackenzie crosses the Continent; XXIV, Third Response: Ledyard, Lewis, and Clark; Epilogue. There are four useful maps: 1. Southern North America, 1492–1600 (inadequate); 2. North-Eastern North America, 1494–1674; 3. Southern North America, 1609–1800 (inadequate); 4. Northern North America, 1671–1793.

Dr. Brebner's book illustrates two things: (1) the importance of periodical syntheses of large historical units as a means of revealing gaps in the monographic literature of a field; and (2) the helplessness of synthesizers until research scholars fill the gaps. His treatise will give new meaning to the special researches of all students of North American exploration. The gaps revealed will set a host of specialists at work to supply the present lacks, for the use of the scholar who may make the next synthesis, or for Professor Brebner if sometime he gives us a revised edition. We need other books thus broadly conceived and treating of other aspects of the transit of European civilization to the Western Hemisphere. The notes give a useful bibliography of original narratives of explorers. They would be even more useful if they included also the works of the special students on whose findings his conclusions and interpretations rest in the main.

It is so much easier to criticize a good book than to write one! This is a reason why reviews should not be taken too seriously. However, a few observations may be ventured. While Brebner has covered all of North America, and thus carried out his plan, it has not been done with uniform adequacy and emphasis. This is to be expected of anyone covering so vast a subject. With him the French pathfinders stand in the center of the picture and occupy the largest space. This no doubt reflects the author's special interest and his special knowledge. On the other hand, the English advance from the Atlantic to the Mississippi Valley is very briefly treated. Presumably all parts of America now settled by Europeans were explored. But in this book vast areas thoroughly and permanently colonized (notably in Durango, Chihuahua, Coahuila, Nuevo León, and Tamaulipas) are given no explorers, although there is material at hand from which to tell the story. Any account of Spanish exploration on a scale as detailed as Brebner's treatment of French exploration would include the names of Ibarra, Carbajal, Urdiñola, Berroterán, Vial, Amangual, and Mézières, to mention only a few omissions. To give Radisson and Groseilliers fifteen pages and Fray Agustín Rodríguez two lines, and to omit altogether Domínguez de Mendoza is uneven emphasis.

Brebner gives credit for the initial exploration of numerous border areas by conjectural "nameless" French explorers, apparently forgetting that on English, Dutch, and Spanish borders there were likewise unknown wanderers who played a similar part, and who may have preceded his nameless Frenchmen. The author's constant thesis is the Indian *middle man,* who did, of course, play his part. But the opposition of the Indian to white penetration was not always the desire to profit as middle man in trade. Quite as often it was fear that his enemy in the back country would get white man's goods, especially weapons and horses, and thus be more dangerous.

The University of California. HERBERT E. BOLTON.

Virginia Historical Index. By E. G. SWEM, Librarian of the College of William and Mary. Volume I, A-K. (Roanoke: Stone Printing and Manufacturing Company. 1934. Pp. xx, 1118. $50.00.)

THE *Virginia Historical Index* contains an analysis of the information relating to Virginia and the Virginians in thirty-eight of the volumes of the *Virginia Historical Magazine;* thirty-seven of the volumes of the *William and Mary Quarterly,* first and second series; ten volumes of *Tyler's Quarterly;* the six volumes of the *Virginia Historical Register;* the five volumes of the *Lower Norfolk Antiquary;* the thirteen volumes of Hening's *Statutes;* and the eleven volumes of the *Calendar of Virginia State Papers.* The work is privately printed and all inquiries should be addressed to the editor at the Library of Congress.

Nothing quite comparable with this publication has ever been produced in the field of American historiography. As a tool of trade, serving alike the historian, local investigator, genealogist, biographer, journalist, novelist, and essayist, this index to one hundred and twenty volumes of literary and textual material relating to every phase of life in Virginia for more than three hundred years is beyond price. Time cannot abate its usefulness or bring a rival into existence, for what it has accomplished could not be better done nor will it ever need to be done again. Originated by Mr. Fairfax Harrison, chairman of the board of founders and himself a noteworthy contributor to Virginia's history, stimulated by the great interest aroused by Mr. Rockefeller's restoration of Williamsburg, and entrusted to the competent hands of Dr. E. G. Swem, librarian of William and Mary College and editor of its historical quarterly, the index has been in the making for the past six or seven years. The first volume, a large quarto of 1118 pages, sumptuously printed and bound, is now before us, containing the entries from A to K. Unhampered by any conditions imposed by Mr. Harrison and his colleagues, Dr. Swem has been free to make his plans as he pleased and to organize the undertaking in such a way as would best conduce to the ease and convenience of the user. Under his direction, as designer and architect, a staff of collaborators have divided among themselves the labor of search and the preparation of the cards. To all these, as also to Mr. Harrison, Mr. Putnam of the Library of Congress, and Mr. Stone, the president of the company that is printing the work, are due the thanks, not only of Dr. Swem, who pays his tribute in his preface, but of everyone to whom Virginia's history is a matter of interest and gratification.

To enter upon a consideration of the many technical problems that Dr. Swem has been called upon to solve would carry us far beyond the limits of this review. Questions of selection, citation, abbreviation, methods of reference and cross reference, and other difficult matters of form and entry were met and had to be answered in such a way as to combine a maximum of simplicity and utility with a minimum of space. When one has become familiar with the rules governing the plan of the work its availability will become manifest, and when one has made a study of the word-titles chosen for the indexing he will realize with admiration the breadth and scope of the editor's imagination. Inevitably proper names bulk large, but topical entries, relating not only to major subjects but to minor ones also, are conspicuous for their frequency. The editor has endeavored to meet the needs of those interested in the details of private and domestic life as well as of those concerned with institutions, administration, and "the deviltries of governors and the machinations of politicians in the homeland of England", as Dr. Swem puts it. He has also in mind the inquisitiveness of the architect, the highway and bridge builder, the lover of historic sites, and even of the aeronautist, as in

the entries about balloons used in the Civil War. He has included words and phrases that have no special subject significance, except as they were a part of the language of the time and illustrate its usage, and he has allotted space for a few pronunciations also. At the bottom of each page will be found repeated the abbreviations employed to indicate each series of volumes indexed, a useful contrivance.

Altogether the *Virginia Historical Index* is a model of what such an index should be, comprehensive, compact, and as labor-saving as editorial ingenuity could make it. Virginia should be proud of the devotion of her sons.

Yale University. CHARLES M. ANDREWS.

Founders and Leaders of Connecticut, 1633–1783. Edited by CHARLES EDWARD PERRY. (Boston: D. C. Heath and Company. 1934. Pp. v, 319. $1.60.)

Tercentenary Pamphlets. Issued by the Committee on Historical Publications, Tercentenary Commission of the State of Connecticut, GEORGE MATTHEW DUTCHER, Chairman. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1933–1934.)

THE little volume of biographical sketches edited by Mr. Perry is designed to appeal to the larger public. The sixty-six essays are brief, some disappointingly so; most of them, however, have been competently done under the rigid limitations of space. Among the fifty-two contributors are to be found James Truslow Adams, Albert C. Bates, Charles A. Beard, Wilbur L. Cross, George M. Dutcher, Albert Bushnell Hart, Henry R. Shipman, and Walter R. Steiner. In some cases—as the sketch furnished by Viola F. Barnes on "Edmund Andros"—the contribution has come as the result of highly specialized and exhaustive research in connection with a larger project. Twenty-two of the essays relate to the founding of the colony down to 1663, twenty to the period from 1663 to 1763, and twenty-five to the last twenty years of colonial history. Happily, it was possible to provide as an introduction to these an admirable essay by Charles M. Andrews, entitled "Colonial Connecticut", which gives an element of cohesion.

Reference has already been made here (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXIX, 531) to the activities of the Committee on Historical Publications of the Connecticut Tercentenary Commission in the publication of the first group of *Tercentenary Pamphlets*. Since then some ten additional pamphlets have been issued. The second document so far presented is in the form of a transliteration of the *Fundamental Orders of Connecticut*, prepared by Albert C. Bates and George M. Dutcher; this is also reproduced in facsimile from the minutes of the General Court of Connecticut. Mary Hewitt Mitchell furnishes an excellent essay on *The Great Awakening and other Revivals in the Religious Life*

of Connecticut, which covers the great revivals of 1740–1741, 1800, 1815, and 1838; while Lois Kimball Mathews Rosenberry in her *Migrations from Connecticut prior to 1800* draws upon her previous scholarly monograph, *The Expansion of New England.* In *The Spanish Ship Case,* Roland Mather Hooker deals with the notorious case of the Spanish snow, the *Saint Joseph and Saint Helena,* wrecked in the harbor of New London in 1752, an episode that has already been given careful treatment; while Penrose R. Hoopes gives an interesting account of *Early Clockmaking in Connecticut* and Henry Wood Erving in his illustrated *The Hartford Chest* describes the work of early Connecticut craftsmen.

Two famous educational institutions of the early nineteenth century are also here recognized. In *The Litchfield Law School, 1775–1833,* Samuel H. Fisher gives a history of America's then leading law school under the direction of Tapping Reeve and James Gould, which drew students from every state of the Union, especially after 1812, and trained such men as John C. Calhoun and Aaron Burr; in *Music Vale Seminary, 1835–1876,* Frances Hall Johnson deals with the equally famous school of music at Salem, Connecticut, founded by Oramel Whittlesey. Finally, William Edward Buckley in *The Hartford Convention* presents the conclusions of present-day scholarship as to the significance of this event and George Matthew Dutcher in *Connecticut's Tercentenary: a Retrospect of Three Centuries of Self Government and Steady Habits* surveys the contributions made by Connecticut men to American civilization.

Lehigh University. LAWRENCE H. GIPSON.

The Correspondence of General Thomas Gage with the Secretaries of State, and with the War Office and the Treasury, 1763–1775. Compiled and edited by CLARENCE EDWIN CARTER, Professor of History, Miami University. Volume II. [Yale Historical Publications, Manuscripts and Edited Texts, XII.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1933. Pp. v, 735. $5.00.)

IN 1931 the first volume of this work appeared (*Am. Hist. Rev.,* XXXVII, 132–133). It included the 265 letters of General Gage written to the secretaries of state in England while Gage was commander in chief of His Britannic Majesty's armies in North America. The present volume, containing above eight hundred documents, is divided into two parts. Part I reverses the flow of correspondence given in Volume I, and presents the letters of the secretaries of state to Gage. Part II then adds a selection of other letters from Gage to the secretaries for war, the secretaries to the treasury, the board of ordnance, the paymaster general and others. Together the two volumes account for about eleven hundred documents in the voluminous correspondence of General Gage. As one repository of Gage correspondence

contains above thirty thousand "Gage Papers" , it may readily be seen that Professor Carter's work provides a most useful guide to the collections upon which it is based.

For many investigators, Professor Carter's volumes will be all that is required. Here we find what Gage said, and what the officials in England said, each to the other. In this second volume, Professor Carter has been more generous in the reprinting of inclosures, the selection of which is a knotty problem, as any reader will agree. No historian will cavil at the selection made by an editor who has devoted more thought and time to the subject of Gage and his papers than anyone else. As both volumes are provided with excellent indexes, the investigator can easily find his way through these eleven hundred pages of fine print. Further, the Yale Press is to be credited with having the courage to use small type enabling the printing of more material. The man who really wants to find out will have no trouble, and is luckier than his fellow workers in the physical sciences who have to use microscopes.

Naturally the contents of this volume defy any effort at summarization. King George III's principal administrative representative in North America surveyed territory extending from Canada to Florida and from Bermuda to the Mississippi. What he wrote to the secretaries of state (vol. I) and to the other officials (vol. II) was obviously his opinion based on the multitude of reports, surveys, maps, letters, digests of information, etc., which were pouring into his office in New York over a period of twelve years, and from an area of nearly one million square miles. The fact that only a few million people lived in this area did not prevent their problems being as varied as they were geographically widespread. On the basis of Gage's letters the British officials in England sent Gage instructions, advice, and data from their point of view. All this is of immense value to the student of American colonial history who views its problems from the standpoint of the official documents of the men higher up.

The industry and skill with which Professor Carter has worked is manifest on every page of his two volumes, and the reviewer knows from his own contact with Professor Carter during the preparation of this work that variant copies of the same document have often been collated carefully with a view to printing the best text. Teachers who conduct advanced courses and seminars in American colonial history will find these volumes helpful in providing fresh material for the many problems of eighteenth century American history which remain to be told.

The advanced investigator, however, will want to look back of the record. What after all did secretaries of state in London really know about America? Little, save at secondhand, and through Gage's own letters. Some had been in America during the French and Indian War, and learned

much—the kind of thing American officers learned in France in 1917–1919. But Gage's own letters become of primary importance. He had traveled, marched, and countermarched in the empire entrusted to his care, and upon this experience his opinions were based. Thus of great importance are the thousands of documents in the Gage Papers from which Gage got his data, though they are, properly enough, not within the scope of these two volumes, because Professor Carter's viewpoint was that of imperial administration, in itself a large enough task for any historian. What Gage thought was going on in the Illinois Country in 1770 will be found in Gage's letters; what the people in London thought Gage thought was going on in the Illinois Country will be found in their letters. But what really was going on in the Illinois Country will be found in the yet uninvestigated letters of the people who were in Illinois and wrote to Gage about it.

The William L. Clements Library. RANDOLPH G. ADAMS.

Journals of Samuel Hearne and Philip Turnor. Edited with Introduction and Notes by J. B. TYRRELL, M.A., LL.D. [The Champlain Society, Volume XXI.] (Toronto: the Society. 1934. Pp. xviii, 611.)

THIS is a very important publication. It completes the work of the editor begun in his earlier volumes on Hearne and Thompson, by the publication of additional journals of Hearne written in connection with the establishment of Cumberland House in 1774–1775; of the journals of Philip Turnor from York Fort to Cumberland House in 1775 and 1778–1779, to Albany and Moose Forts in 1779–1780, to the Missinabi region in 1780–1781, from Cumberland House to Slave Lake in 1790 to 1792, and up the Nelson River from York Factory in the latter year; and of supplementary journals of Malchom Ross and Peter Fidler on the expedition to Slave Lake. The history of surveying and of the exploration of northwestern Canada as illustrated by these documents has therefore been completed from Hearne to Philip Turnor and his students, Peter Fidler and David Thompson, by a surveyor who has covered much of the same territory and ranks with them in the importance of his contributions. The significance of the work is enhanced not only by the familiarity of the author with the technique of surveying and with the areas covered but also by the extremely valuable material in the introduction, in the footnotes and appendixes, and in the maps made available for the first time by the Hudson's Bay Company. The introduction, with its description of the early inland journeys from Hudson Bay, of the work of Samuel Hearne, of Mathew Cocking and his Canadian rivals, and of Philip Turnor, and with copious extracts from the journals of early traders such as William Pink, illuminates with a bright light the dark period of the western fur trade from the withdrawal of the French to the re-

occupation from the St. Lawrence by the English after the conquest of New France and the formation of the North West Company. For the first time we are given a glimpse through the records of the Hudson's Bay Company of the activities of early Canadian traders. Conjecture is displaced by certainty, and extant Canadian accounts, such as those of Alexander Henry, can be checked and revised. The volume is even more important to the student of the fur trade than to the student of surveying.

The Hudson's Bay Company is to be commended for a policy of opening its archives and placing its records at the disposal of students who will at last be in a position to write the history of the West. The Champlain Society is to be congratulated on the publication of the volume and the choice of an editor, who, through his familiarity with the regions described in the journals as a surveyor and later as a mining engineer, and through his long experience and work, bridges the gap between the early fur trade of the Pre-Cambrian formation and the recent mining activity. It is at once a brilliant selection and a deserved tribute to a great Canadian.

The University of Toronto. H. A. Innis.

The Mississippi Question, 1795–1803: a Study in Trade, Politics, and Diplomacy. By Arthur Preston Whitaker, Professor of American History, Cornell University. [The American Historical Association.] (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. 1934. Pp. ix, 342. $3.50.)

This excellent work is an important addition to the widening stream of books and articles on the subject of Louisiana and the question of its ultimate disposition. It seeks "to show how Spain lost its hold on Louisiana and how the United States fell heir to the province", and provides a useful companion volume to the writer's earlier study, *The Spanish-American Frontier, 1783–1795*. Professor Whitaker's conception of the "Mississippi Question" is broader than the diplomatic issues which grew out of the treaty of San Lorenzo, since he treats the commercial, political, and frontier developments in the United States and Louisiana equally with the policies of the United States, Spain, and France toward Louisiana and the Floridas. A discussion of the movement of the American pioneers into the old Southwest coupled with a brief sketch of "The Spanish Fringe" of colonies toward which this movement pushed, serves to introduce to the reader the complex situation which, in the end, brought about the Louisiana purchase. Against this background, the effects of the treaty signed at San Lorenzo, in 1795, are traced in their three major results: first, recognition of the thirty-first parallel as the southern boundary of the United States and the vexatious delays in the withdrawal of Spanish garrisons in the relinquished area; second, the virtual

abandonment by Spain of control over most of the Southern Indians with repercussions on the trade of Panton, Leslie, and Company; and, lastly, the added impulse given Mississippi River commerce by the opening of the river to trade, with the right of deposit at New Orleans. Two chapters are then devoted to the situation created in the United States by certain knowledge that France was attempting to secure the retrocession of Louisiana after 1795, in a period of Federalist control, down to 1799. During this time both countries "hovered on the brink of war". This is, in the main, an account of American filibustering efforts in the West and of government schemes to seize the province rather than see it pass into French possession. There follows an admirable analysis of trade on the Mississippi in the years 1799 to 1802, and, under the title "Fin de Siècle", the end of "the absurd Kentucky intrigue", of Wilkinson and others, is detailed, together with the extraordinary activities of the adventurer William Augustus Bowles on the East and West Florida frontiers. The retrocession is depicted as a step Spain took gladly in view of the cost of the colony and the difficulties of defense and, in return for which unrealized hopes for the establishment of a kingdom of Parma were held out. That the Floridas were not included in the retrocession is clearly established.

The concluding chapters describe the continuance of Spain's strategic retreat in the Mississippi Valley under the dictum of Godoy that "you can't lock up an open field", hastened by the unexpected sale of the area in 1803 to the United States by Napoleon. The interesting question of the closing of the deposit by the acting intendant of Louisiana, Juan Ventura Morales, is thoroughly discussed. It should, however, be read in the light of the comments contained in this *Review* (XL, 176). The work ends with a well-rounded discussion of all the factors involved in the transfer of Louisiana to the United States.

Professor Whitaker spread a wide net for his materials and in every chapter adduces new evidence gleaned in a long search of the archives, both here and in Europe. His footnotes also indicate a judicious use of the printed materials, both documentary and secondary, which exist in great quantities on his subject. The reviewer regrets the relegation of the footnotes to the back of the book, in a volume of scholarly character sponsored by the American Historical Association. The necessity for a constant leafing back and forth is a distinct annoyance to anyone interested in following both text and notes. The author index, an admirable feature, has the defect of giving page and note numbers with the note, in many instances, appearing on a page several removed from the page indicated in the index. There is a good general index. This is a sound, comprehensive study which should hold the field for a number of years to come.

The University of Michigan. ARTHUR S. AITON.

The Call of the Columbia: Iron Men and Saints take the Oregon Trail. Edited, with Bibliographical Résumé, 1830–1835, by ARCHER BUTLER HULBERT. [Overland to the Pacific, Volume IV.] (Published by the Stewart Commission of Colorado College and the Denver Public Library. 1934. Pp. xvii, 317. $5.00.)

THE present volume in the series Overland to the Pacific stresses activities and writings of Hall J. Kelley and Nathaniel Wyeth, and the western patrol of Colonel Henry Dodge with his rangers. To the delight of the bibliographer, however, Professor Hulbert takes his customary comprehensive view of the relations of these episodes and the documentary literature illustrative of them.

On the Kelley episode he very properly prints only a limited amount of material, but he gives the reader exact information as to where the balance can be found, and he cites also supplementary or background data. The first sixty-six pages carry Kelley's "First Memorial to the Senate and House of Representatives" which sets forth his plan for colonizing Oregon, gives his extremely faulty and inaccurate geographical sketch of the country, a series of his letters to a member of Congress and to newspapers bearing on his colonizing plan, and circulars to intending colonists.

Most of that material can be found elsewhere in print. But this being, so to say, the wheat in the somewhat extensive heaps of Kelley literary chaff, it is convenient to have it in the form in which it is here presented. Moreover, it was necessary for the editor to cover in this volume all that material in order to have the proper foil for the much more spirited and interesting critique of the Kelley program by William Joseph Snelling which he gives on pages 67 to 103 under the caption "A Critic of Kelley and Expansion". The editor characterizes Kelley and his critic as equally ill-informed about the West. With this view the reviewer can hardly agree, for Snelling, although guilty of serious blunders, yet has a certain basis in experience for most of what he has to say on the impracticality of the overland expedition planned by Kelley; and his reasoning *in vacuo* is of a sprightly and keen variety, very refreshing in contrast to Kelley's loose thinking and slovenly writing. Snelling's harsh strictures on Kelley as either having taken leave of his senses or his honesty are in keeping with the journalistic amenities of the time.

In letters quoted from F. G. Young's edition of the *Correspondence and Journals of Nathaniel J. Wyeth*, Mr. Hulbert shows how the Wyeth expeditions of 1832 and 1834 grew out of the enterprise projected by Kelley but which he proved to be wholly incompetent to execute. He follows with Wyeth's journal of the first expedition, and a letter from John Ball, one of his associates on that trip. The Wyeth journal had not hitherto been available

except in the University of Oregon edition of 1899, and John Ball's illuminating letter, printed on January 23, 1833, in the Boston *Daily Advocate* as well as the series of his letters to Brinsmade which follow, pages 161–183, also deserve to be made conveniently accessible.

John K. Townsend's Journal, illustrating the second Wyeth expedition, is the original form of the "Townsend's Narrative", published in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels,* Volume XXI, where the text occupies 250 pages. The present volume contains copious extracts from the journal within the brief compass of forty-two pages, giving us another Townsend source not hitherto accessible.

The volume closes with an account, originally printed in the *Army and Navy Chronicle,* of a "Summer upon the Prairie" by Captain Lemuel Ford of the Dodge mounted rangers, describing the activities of that expedition in the summer of 1835. This is the expanded form of the Ford journal printed, by Louis Pelzer, in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* Volume XII, no. 4 (March, 1926). Geographically the Ford narrative illustrates, in a striking manner, the piedmont country between the upper Platte and the upper Arkansas and deals, in an intimately descriptive way, with the Indian peace efforts which were the primary purpose of the Dodge summer patrol.

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin. JOSEPH SCHAFER.

History of the State of New York. Edited by ALEXANDER C. FLICK, State Historian. Volume V, *Conquering the Wilderness;* volume VI, *The Age of Reform.* [The New York State Historical Association.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1934. Pp. xii, 381; xiv, 390. $50.00 for ten volumes.)

VOLUMES V and VI of this important co-operative enterprise bring the story of the State of New York to the middle of the nineteenth century. Volume V is more particularly concerned with the expansion of population throughout the state and with other material developments such as the building of turnpikes, the establishment of a canal system, and the beginnings of the Industrial Revolution. Volume VI emphasizes, to a greater extent, the organization of political parties and the growth of those reform movements which played so important a part in the state in the period before 1850. This division of interest is of course not exact, since Volume VI, like Volume V, is also concerned with the means of transportation, in this case the railway, and with the rise of the factory system within the state.

At this stage of the work it may be appropriate to comment upon the efficient editorial management of the six volumes which have appeared. Notwithstanding the fact that a large number of persons have co-operated in making this history possible, the overlapping has been very slight. The

editors have been notably successful, also, in eliminating the many contradictions and inconsistencies that must have cropped out from time to time. Taken as a whole the six volumes that have appeared constitute a well-unified story of the development of the State of New York to 1850.

The State Historian, Mr. Flick, has been fortunate at all stages in securing the services of persons who have already made notable contributions to the history of the state. These volumes constitute no exception to the rule. Among the contributors to Volume V is E. Wilder Spaulding whose *New York During the Critical Period, 1783–1789,* made it certain that his chapter on "The Ratification of the Federal Constitution" would be admirable. The chapter by Paul D. Evans, "The Frontier Pushed Westward", is a legitimate outgrowth of his book on *The Holland Land Company*. It is to be expected that Julius W. Pratt's chapter on "The War of 1812" would reflect his excellent scholarship in that field. Volume VI is enriched by the very competent and experienced craftsmanship of Dixon Ryan Fox in "New York becomes a Democracy". This chapter, summarized from Mr. Fox's *Decline of Aristocracy in the Politics of New York,* should be read by all whose souls are made sad by what they choose to regard today as the destruction of the Federal Constitution. Other chapters of genuine interest are those of Denis Tilden Lynch, "The Growth of Political Parties, 1777–1828" and "Party Struggles, 1828–1850"; Dexter Perkins, "New York's Participation in the Federal Government"; and W. Freeman Galpin, "Reform Movements". These are but a few of the attractive contributions to the two volumes under review.

Perhaps the most difficult part of the undertaking is yet to come. There was a vast difference between the State of New York in 1850 and the earlier period of self-satisfied aristocratic control so earnestly defended by James Kent, General J. R. Van Rensselaer, and Elisha Williams in the Convention of 1821; but the difference between 1850 and 1935 is still greater. Changes in economic life and the upheaval of thought which have made the State of New York what it is today are far more baffling subjects for treatment than those described in these two volumes. The remaining volumes will be awaited with interest.

Cornell University. J. P. Bretz.

America's Tragedy. By James Truslow Adams. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1934. Pp. vi, 415. $3.00.)

The theme of this interesting volume is the tragic consequence of the introduction of Negro slavery into the English colonies of North America—the tragedy which befell the whites rather than the Africans who, in the long run, profited more than they lost by their transplantation. Mr. Adams has

evidently designed his book less for the special student than for the general reader; but the specialist will profit by its perusal even though he will find many occasions for dissent.

In its general outline the story is the familiar one of the introduction of slavery, its slow southward shift, and the gradual division of the country because of differences of climate and soil into agricultural and commercial-industrial sections with conflicting programs and philosophies. It is Mr. Adams's fecundity of suggestion and interpretation rather than his narrative that gives the book its special quality. His previous studies in the colonial era bear fruit in a number of arresting observations, such as the contrast between early Massachusetts and South Carolina (pp. 6–11), the social attitudes of whose respective peoples became fixed long before they were to become the extreme sectional protagonists of the middle nineteenth century. He is somewhat less happy in his analysis of the Southern reaction to the protective tariff and the centralizing policies of the rising capitalistic groups in the North and of the Southern fixation upon the state rights interpretation of the Constitution. But he sees clearly, as some historians unfortunately have not, that the Southerners, after 1830, were consciously and increasingly on the defensive not only with respect to slavery but also with regard to their agricultural economy as a whole; and he makes the point that the deepening defense patterns and the essentially classical culture of the Southerners served to hold them aloof from the new democratic liberalism and the currents of social and intellectual interests which were spreading so rapidly through Western Europe and the other parts of the Union. Perhaps he underestimates the influence of a predominantly rural life bound to an agricultural economy as a conservative factor, as he certainly underestimates the extent to which political democracy was making headway in the Southern states. While he shows how the Southerners, in reaction to the violent assaults of the abolitionists, turned to a fierce defense of slavery, he also makes clear the enormous difficulty of getting rid of the institution:

> The tragedy of the southern situation lay essentially in the fact that the South seemed to be offered no alternative between cutting itself off from and opposing the whole trend of world thought and cutting its own economic throat and plunging headlong into economic bankruptcy and social chaos (p. 93).

It is evident, however, that Mr. Adams is on less familiar ground as he approaches the Civil War for he relies too much on outdated secondary authorities and in consequence falls into numerous errors. One is surprised, for instance, to find that he still accepts the old dictum that slavery, after 1850, was about to take possession of the Western territories and was checked only by the determined opposition of the free North. This contention has been too thoroughly disproved to be given serious consideration now; it was,

in fact, well enough understood even in the eighteen-fifties to be without foundation. He greatly overstates the Southern desire for the revival of the African slave trade—a movement which was defeated in the South itself. Again, what is the justification for the statement (p. 127) that "Jefferson Davis, with Quitman and William Walker as aides, was planning for the acquisition of Cuba and Mexico for the creation of more slave states"?

His account of the Civil War, although by no means free of errors, scores higher in accuracy. He deals with the military movements rather briefly in order to give more attention to his tragic theme: the terrible fury of non-combatants like politicians and newspaper editors, the false atrocity stories, the very real horrors of the battlefields, the hardships produced in the South by the collapse of Confederate credit, the sufferings of the hapless people in the invaded and devastated areas as the men in the ranks became more brutalized and such commanders as Sherman, Grant, and Sheridan developed the modern concept that the true military objective is breaking down the enemy's will to fight by destroying all his material resources.

In summing up the consequences of the sectional conflict in the final chapter the author indulges in an interesting comment on the disruption of the old Southern social order. The hustling industrial North, he thinks, because of its lack of social stability, its opportunities for money-getting, its worship of material success and of work as a means to that end, had lost sight of what life was for. In the more stable society of the ante bellum South, on the other hand, the planter-aristocrat had sufficient leisure, along with assurance of economic and social security, to subordinate mere money-making to making an art of living, and his way of life "had permeated the whole South". If, while admitting a large element of truth in these generalizations, one is inclined to question their absolute accuracy, he can still agree with Mr. Adams that the wrecking of the higher social class of the old South entailed cultural losses that the country could ill afford.

This book deserves a wide circle of readers for its merits far outweigh its defects.

The University of Texas. CHARLES W. RAMSDELL.

The Eve of Conflict: Stephen A. Douglas and the Needless War. By GEORGE FORT MILTON. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1934. Pp. xiii, 608. $5.00.)

"GREAT in friendship, great in mind, great in purpose, his was the greatest effort to make intelligence the arbiter of American affairs." That is Milton's thesis and he never departs from it. It was Douglas who saw the extremity to which antislavery agitation on the one hand and Southern Rights on the other would lead the country. It was he who devised and applied to the

solution of the territorial problem the formula of Popular Sovereignty, unchangeable and unchanged in the Compromise of 1850, the Kansas-Nebraska Act, the Cincinnati Platform of 1856, and his presidential campaign of 1860. If the people of the United States had been free to vote intelligently and had chosen him President, the Civil War would not have occurred. Free, that is, from the emotional outbursts occasioned by such incidents as John Brown's Raid, the assault upon Sumner, and the appearance of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Free, also, from the trickery, deception, and political machinations of James Buchanan and the fire-eating politicians from the South who destroyed the Union over a mere abstraction.

In the main it is the story of the attempts and failures of Douglas to place himself at the head of a united Democratic party and the presidency. Either Milton had the main outline of his thesis in mind before delving into his source materials, or he was carried away by an overwhelming preponderance of Douglas documents to ignore or slur over everything that did not fit into the grand theme. In doing so, he has constructed by far the ablest account of Douglas's career ever written, and brought to light a wealth of new material. His work compels a re-evaluation of the period. It is provocative and stimulating, but not final or impartial. In his effort to show Douglas's consistency he makes some serious errors. The Kansas-Nebraska Act and the Cincinnati Platform did not contain the principle of Popular Sovereignty as Douglas contended and Milton accepts without question. The fundamental premise of Southern Rights was the absolute sovereignty of a state constitutional convention, and which accorded full power over the slavery question to the people of a territory when they met to frame a constitution for admission into the Union. Douglas argued that the people of a territory were on a basis of equality with the people of a state and could control the slavery question in the territorial legislature. The question was referred to the Supreme Court by the two documents mentioned above, and that is why Lincoln placed Douglas in such a dilemma by asking him to square Popular Sovereignty with the Dred Scott decision. Milton may be right about Douglas overshadowing Lincoln in the debates of 1858, but Douglas's answers cost him the support of the South. Moreover, it is exactly the reason why no man of prominence could be nominated on the Cincinnati Platform in 1860. The nomination would give definite interpretation to the platform.

Again, in support of Douglas's consistency, Milton repeats the old story that the bolters from the Charleston Convention had resigned their seats, were bent on destroying the Democratic party to further their scheme of disunion, and came back to Baltimore to complete the job of disruption. He ignores the fact that the test of admission at Baltimore was willingness to support Douglas and that validity of credentials or previous action at Charleston had nothing to do with it. These are only instances of the

general theme that when anti-Douglas delegations were elected to party conventions it was by unholy use of the patronage, bribery, fraud, pressure politics. When Douglas forces won, it was the triumph of the will of the people.

On the election of 1860, he makes two assertions that are open to serious challenge. "The two Conservatives received a majority of the vote in Georgia, Louisiana and Maryland, and in no Southern State save Texas was it less than forty per cent. . . . The outcome could, indeed, mean that about half the Southern voters preferred the Union, with eventual emancipation, to slavery without the Union." This conclusion Milton makes sound plausible by failing to say that the Constitutional-Union platform was devised, like the old Whig platforms, to allow state conventions to frame their own declarations of principles and that in many cases these were more ultra Southern Rights than those of the Breckinridge Democrats. To combine the Douglas and Bell votes in the South as a criterion by which to judge the sentiment of that section either with respect to slavery or secession is absurd. It could only be done, as Milton has done it, by ignoring the great exponents of public opinion—the newspapers. The most vital portion of his story deals with the Southern people, yet he cites less than a score of the Southern newspapers and those seldom. For example, he used the New Orleans *True Delta,* organ of Pierre Soulé and Miles Taylor, chairman of the Douglas National Committee, and ignores the *Delta,* the *Bee,* the *Crescent,* and the *Picayune.* The result is that, wherever he touches the South, his conclusions are open to serious dispute if not outright refutation. In the second place it is far from "too plain for argument" that Douglas would have defeated Lincoln had they been the only candidates. That Lincoln would have received fewer votes with one opposing candidate than he did with three opponents may be true, but it requires strong evidence to be convincing.

The most serious defect, however, is his failure to see—and Douglas failed too—that the controversy over slavery in the territories was an abstraction in itself, but symbolic of something far from an abstraction: the perpetuation or destruction of the institution of slavery. Douglas Democrats were constantly under pressure from the rising antislavery tide in the North. Milton hints at it when he says that Douglas had "often privately termed slavery 'a curse beyond comparison, to both black and white'—but he could not publicly admit this—to do so would destroy the Democratic party as a national force". But that this necessity of winning votes in the North was reflected in Douglas's attitude toward party platforms and had anything to do with the disruption of the party is not possible. That was due to Southern ultraism and Buchanan's senility and hate.

The attempt to belittle the force of Northern antislavery sentiment is obviously wrong. *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was born at the Lane Seminary Debate

in 1834, though not written until many years later; but out of that event also sprang forces that moved forward through the years, always aggressive and relentlessly progressive. That they spelled the doom of slavery is beyond question. Lincoln and not Douglas gauged correctly the temper of the times. It was the strength of antislavery sentiment that made Mrs. Stowe's work so popular and John Brown's raid so important. Without the background they might have been "mere smudges on the face of history", but one cannot lift events from their background and evaluate them correctly.

The University of Michigan. D. L. Dumond.

R. E. Lee: a Biography. By Douglas Southall Freeman. Volumes I, II. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1934. Pp. xviii, 647; xi, 621. $7.50.)

It was almost two decades ago that Dr. Douglas S. Freeman, then as now editor of the Richmond *News Leader,* agreed to prepare a biography of Robert E. Lee. The one volume that was originally projected grew to four, of which two appeared in October, and two in February. The first two are reviewed here. General comment on Lee's achievements as a soldier and upon the sources that the author has used may well be postponed until the review of the final volumes. It is obvious that this is a "full-length" portrait. For his long labors the author feels that he has been fully repaid by living all these years "in the company of a great gentleman". No one will deny that this association of the spirit was a rare privilege, but a reviewer must ask if such extended treatment is justifiable. So far as sales are concerned, author and publishers seem to have been warranted in an optimism that may once have seemed sheer audacity. That Lee deserves large space in any library or gallery, I think few will question. Hitherto, he has generally been depicted as though he sprang full-panoplied from the head of Zeus. By tracing, through paths that other biographers have not explored, the slow and laborious processes of his development, Dr. Freeman has clothed the statue with flesh and blood and has shown us a Lee that is no less noble for seeming real. A somewhat briefer treatment might have been more artistic. Some of the details seem unnecessary, and will be skipped by many readers, but there they are for anybody that wants them. On the whole, the result justifies the author's comprehensive plan, as it reveals his intelligent and painstaking investigation, his power of analysis, and his literary skill. Indeed, subject and author have been most happily conjoined. Comparisons may not properly be made with works of smaller scope, and no final judgment should be pronounced before the other volumes have been read, but to the reviewer it seems that this biography reaches the full stature of the man. To the author, I feel sure, this will be praise enough.

The title, "R. E. Lee", presumably was chosen because it was thus that Lee signed his name. The Virginian author has imparted to his book a certain flavor of the Confederacy. One reads, not of the battles of Bull Run and Antietam, but of Manassas and Sharpsburg; the conflict itself is referred to, not as the Civil War, but as the War between the States. None-the-less, while it is always understanding, Dr. Freeman's work is distinctly objective. "When biography becomes defense", he says, "it descends to special pleading and forfeits all confidence. The facts must speak for themselves" (II, 410). No one who reads his comments on Lee's actions in the ill-fated campaign in western Virginia, or his analysis of the Seven Days' Battles, can question either his fairness or his penetration. No one else has described so fully the problems and difficulties that Lee had to meet in the various stages of his career, but no one else has set forth more clearly Lee's chief weakness as a commander, his amiability, his too-Christian forbearance with stubborn and opinionated men. One comment, in connection with the fiasco in western Virginia, deserves to become a classic: "Of some other commanders in the great American tragedy one might have to ask whether they were drunk or sober on a given day, whether they were indolent or aggressive, whether they lost their heads in the emergency or mastered themselves. Of Lee it became necessary to ask, for two years and more, whether his judgment as a soldier or his consideration as a gentleman dominated his acts" (I, 553). Yet the biographer suggests that in Lee's humility and selflessness lay also a major secret of his power, creating morale among the men and winning for him a devotion that served to overcome the ill effects of military mistake. If there is to be a final balance sheet of spiritual and military values, it will logically appear in the last volume. The question remains, therefore, whether Lee would have served his cause better or worse, on the whole, had he been less regardful of the feelings of others. It may be that the Confederacy was already doomed when he assumed command, but this superb leader of a lost cause may have lacked the temper of a successful revolutionary.

The author says, with modesty, that the task of collecting materials from widely scattered sources about Lee's life before the war was comparatively easy. From the biographical point of view, however, and even from the military, it was of the first importance. The slow-moving story of Lee's early years, his West Point days, his family life, and his relatively obscure labors on successive engineering projects, and the more exciting account of his brilliant services in Mexico, are most revealing. Despite the freshness of the author's materials for the period before the Mexican War and the decade after it, one feels that here more than anywhere else in the two volumes he might have spared some detail. On the other hand, most readers will learn most just here. They will gain a fresh impression of the atmosphere of hardship and self-denial in which this scion of aristocrats grew up, and they will

be surprised that they have not appreciated better the great importance of the tradition of Washington, who came next to God in the home of Anne Carter Lee and of whose memory Robert E. Lee became in a sense the custodian when he married Mary Custis of "Arlington". They will find that Lee had domestic tribulations beyond the average and that he "got part of his preparation for war by nursing sick women". They will gain a new respect for his clear, logical, mathematical mind as they perceive its steady development. They may be surprised to learn that, "while self-denial and self-control were the supreme rule of life", the reserve that was so marked in his later years did not really appear before 1860. He had his lighter moments, plenty of them. Learning while away from home that he had another daughter, he wrote a friend: "With what a bountiful hand are these little *responsibilities* distributed". As the author shows clearly, though not without redundancy, Lee gained from Winfield Scott on the road to Mexico many lessons that he applied in his later strategy. It is hard to see how even Lee, much less the reader, could learn much from the courts-martial, the account of which constitutes almost the only dreary section in an engrossing book.

After the chapter, "On a Train en Route to Richmond", with its extraordinarily fine description of Lee just before he accepted his Virginia commission, the author moves into the complicated story of the war. In no part of his book, perhaps, has he made a fresher contribution than in his account of Lee's vigorous preparation of Virginia for defense. Indeed, no one before him has given equal attention to the problems that Lee had to face, at this time and afterward, as an organizer and administrator. Lee's lack of training at the outset in matters of supply is frankly commented upon, but the implication is that if any important consideration was neglected, at this time or subsequently, it was by force of circumstances. The exact apportionment, among the military and civil officers of the Confederacy and the forces of Nature, of the blame for the shortage of supplies is perhaps impossible, but it seems probable that Lee's genius for making the best of what he had, without complaining about what he did not get, worked to his disadvantage. Here again, his patience was a source of both strength and weakness.

In describing the actual fighting, through Chancellorsville, Dr. Freeman is going over ground that is relatively familiar to students and even to general readers, but he adds countless details of weather and terrain, of roads and maps and orders, and achieves a distinct freshness of impression. His deliberate policy of viewing the battle scene through the eyes of Lee may be criticized by some on the ground that it gives an incomplete picture. It must be remembered, however, that this is biography first, and military history afterward. By this means, also, he establishes a helpful, not to say indispensable, principle of selection of materials and describes the unfolding strategy more realistically. His repeated comments on Lee's theory of com-

mand, which at the outset involved concentration on strategy while leaving tactics to subordinates, illuminate and clarify the whole story of the battles. It is a story, also, of Lee's military education, which progressed steadily from Mechanicsville to Chancellorsville, when "the sun of his destiny was at its zenith". The moving account of that great triumph of Lee and Jackson ends with an even more moving report of Jackson's death.

The Lee who appears in these absorbing pages is not a new figure, but the old Lee, much more completely pictured and far better explained. More human now, he is still a knight, *sans peur et sans reproche,* "a simple soul, humble, transparent, and believing. Whatever befell the faithful was the will of God, and whatever God willed was best."

The Dictionary of American Biography. DUMAS MALONE.

American Diplomacy during the World War. By CHARLES SEYMOUR, Provost and Sterling Professor of History, Yale University. [The Albert Shaw Lectures on Diplomatic History, 1933, The Walter Hines Page School of International Relations.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1934. Pp. xii, 417. $3.00.)

THE present interest in the problem of American neutrality should another war occur in Europe gives this book a peculiar importance, for it provides an impartial record of the difficulties actually confronting the United States when it tried to remain neutral in the last war. Also it is the first account of those years to make adequate use of the documents recently issued by the Department of State and the evidence collected by the Investigating Committee of the German Reichstag immediately after the war. Furthermore, as the editor of *The Intimate Papers of Colonel House,* Professor Seymour has been able to supplement the materials there published from the unpublished papers of House now in the Yale library. Finally, he has been able to obtain from several distinguished Englishmen, such as Lord Lothian and Sir William Wiseman, who were in high authority during the war, and from an anonymous German navy archivist comments on his narrative which reveal how far the belligerent governments were at times from comprehending the position of the United States. Unless the succeeding volumes of Mr. R. S. Baker's life of Woodrow Wilson bring important new material, the evidence is all in, and the picture of American diplomacy can be given definite form. Mr. Seymour is to be congratulated for the clearness of his presentation, the charm of his style, and his strict adherence to the historical record.

Three phases of American policy are clearly distinguished. At first a persistent effort was made to find a formula which would accommodate the practices of the belligerents in naval warfare with the rights of the United States: the proposal for the adoption of the Declaration of London, which

was rejected by England, partly perhaps because it was not pressed by Page; the suggestion of February, 1915, that Germany should abandon the submarine warfare if England would permit the import of food into Germany, which was accepted with reservations by the latter but declined by the former; and Colonel House's plan for the freedom of the seas which was refused by England. The second stage was reached when Wilson decided that the United States must bring the war to an end if it was to avoid intervention; hence the plan of 1916 by which the United States would promise to join the Allies if the Central Powers rejected reasonable terms of peace. The disregard of this offer by the Allies—on this point Mr. Seymour, as it seems to the reviewer, does not attach sufficient importance to the probable calculation of the Allies that the submarine warfare would bring the United States into the war without conditions—led to the third stage when Wilson was more determined than ever to end the war but had abandoned his original sympathies with the Allies and was in a mood to exert serious pressure on the Allies if Germany indicated reasonable terms of peace. In January, 1917, Germany was in a strong position, and if she had not resorted to unrestricted submarine warfare, it seems probable that Wilson would have gone rather far in demanding that the Allies enter upon peace negotiations. As Mr. Seymour says (p. 210), "It was the German submarine warfare and nothing else that forced him [Wilson] to lead America into war." As for the contention that the decision "was the result of the influence of certain 'interests,'" "there is no scrap of valid evidence supporting this thesis, and all that is available directly controverts it" (p. 207).

Mr. Seymour rightly confines himself, in a series of lectures, to the main issues and neglects many problems of secondary importance which arose between the United States and the belligerents. But he might well have referred to the pressure which the British and French governments were able to exert on the United States during the first six months of the war by laying embargoes on various raw materials urgently needed by American manufacturers; in the opinion of the late J. V. Fuller, one of the editors of the American documents, this situation had much to do with the refusal of the American government to prohibit the traffic in munitions. Nor does Mr. Seymour discuss the change of front in the matter of loans of belligerent governments. In general he pays little attention to the economic aspects of the war as they affected the United States. This question and the problems of propaganda and the activity of German agents still await competent study.

The chapters on American diplomacy after April, 1917, are excellent. That on "Diplomatic Aspects of Coördination" breaks new ground. In the "Conflict of War Aims", Mr. Seymour argues, convincingly, that Wilson was well informed about the secret treaties, and shows why he made no attempt to "smoke out" the Allies. The concluding chapters provide an

admirable narrative of the steps by which, with extraordinary skill and in face of Allied misgiving, Wilson brought the war to an end, and House forced the Allies to accept the Fourteen Points. Few diplomatic successes rank with these achievements, and Americans who think that our representatives are always outwitted by wicked foreigners will do well to ponder the record of 1918. Mr. Seymour breaks off with the conclusion of the armistice, but it is to be hoped that he will give us, from his unrivaled knowledge, an equally satisfactory account of the Peace Conference.

The University of Chicago. BERNADOTTE E. SCHMITT.

Citizens' Organizations and the Civic Training of Youth. By BESSIE LOUISE PIERCE, Associate Professor of American History, University of Chicago.

Civic Education in the United States. By CHARLES E. MERRIAM, Professor of Political Science, University of Chicago. [American Historical Association, Report of the Commission on the Social Studies, Parts III, VI.] (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1933; 1934. Pp. xvii, 426; xxii, 196. $2.00; $1.75.)

THE spirit of the age makes heavy demands upon teachers who are concerned with the civic training of youth. In democracies education for citizenship has been based upon the assumption that all the citizens must be capable of ruling and being ruled in turn. Each is supposed to have an equal right to hold any public office and all are expected to pass judgment upon the acts of public officers of every kind. Hence it has been deemed necessary to teach everybody the duties of each office and to give the whole body of people all the information about public affairs that might be proper for passing judgment upon all the officeholders. The implication is, that teachers of civics are responsible for equipping the boys and girls with much of the knowledge that may be needed by the members of an omniscient public and for qualifying them to play leading parts in a government deriving its power from the consent of the governed. In dictatorships, based upon the ascendency of communist or fascist parties, the responsibility of the civics teacher is more explicit. In such states the attempt is made to unify the whole body of people by means of a corporate sentiment of peculiar intensity and coercive force, relating to a definite home-country or industrial category. Whether the state be based upon the self-determination of peoples or of classes, the civics teacher is a veritable instrument of government. In democracies like the United States, where national as well as class consciousnesses are to be kept in their proper places, the civics teacher's functions are of equal political significance.

The investigation and appraisal of the social studies in the elementary

and secondary schools, which has been undertaken by the American Historical Association's Commission on the Social Studies, is manifestly a public service of the highest importance. It is being planned and executed with the care that its importance demands. The preparation of the present volumes was entrusted to writers of amply demonstrated competence. Professor Merriam's magistral series of *Studies in the Making of Citizens* attests his grasp of the subject. Miss Pierce contributed to that series a compendious monograph on *Public Opinion and the Teaching of History in the United States*. Their contributions to the Commission's Report abundantly fulfill the promise of their earlier writings. Miss Pierce's contains an unrivaled collection of information concerning the aims and methods of the principal organizations which seek to influence American civic education. But it is severely objective and makes no attempt to assess the value or effectiveness of the various programs advanced by citizens' organizations in the United States for the civic training of youth. Professor Merriam's, on the other hand, is largely subjective and packed with criticism of current methods and attainments in civic education.

Many of Professor Merriam's criticisms will command immediate approval and should lead to constructive action. "Excellent government", he pertinently observes, "is not as well advertised as inefficient government, and for this reason it is important to incorporate into civic education an understanding of the practical possibilities in legislation, administration", etc. At the same time he seems to bear down too harshly upon the deficiencies of present-day teachers. "It will be found indispensable", he writes, "to provide much more thoroughly trained teachers. . . ." No doubt the system of teacher training can be and will be improved. But to the present reviewer the most urgent need in American civic education seems to be the reconsideration of its objectives. The traditional task of civic training in a democracy has become impossible. The new democracy is necessarily different from the old. It is not true that under a political system suited to the conditions of today all need be able to rule and be ruled in turn. The new deal in civic education will recognize the value of a division of labor in the management of the democratic state as well as in other branches of modern industry. There must be a sharper distinction between education for citizenship and education for statesmanship. Statesmanship is a profession which in the new democracy not every citizen need try to practice. It is enough if the general body of citizens are competent to pass judgment upon statesmen. Training for the duties of citizenship in such a state is a sufficient task for any system of elementary and secondary schools. Much, however, still remains to be said concerning the aims and methods of even this more limited kind of civic training.

Harvard University. A. N. Holcombe.

The Open Door at Home: a Trial Philosophy of National Interest. By CHARLES A. BEARD. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1934. Pp. viii, 331. $3.00.)

IN a very recent work, to which the present volume is an announced sequel, Charles Beard examined the idea of national interest as hitherto conceived. He showed it to be, generally speaking, a collection of special interests getting the support of government for their own profit with little reference to the commonweal of the whole nation. He selected facts to prove that the industrialist Federalist-Whig-Republican party power has generally the support of this conception of national interests and has sought, contrary to the agrarian Democratic power, to advance them by "thrusts" of national power outward from the homeland. Though this contrast cannot be established historically for the period before the Civil War, it certainly was emphatic in the decisive years at the turn of the century. If the serious student of American history generally cannot see the contrast so clearly as Beard does, he cannot reject the author's indictment of the selfish and damaging influence hitherto exercised by special interests in molding conceptions of national interest. There has been no formula of national interest closely identified with the commonweal, and it is high time there should be. Having given his historical demonstration to his own satisfaction in the previous work, Beard now proceeds to formulate a policy of national interest which will be fitted by engineering rationality to the welfare of the nation, the people as a whole, and in the American tradition.

We have here a philosophical inquiry and a positive opinion rather than a historical treatise. It is a piece of "history as an act of faith" so stressed by the author in other contemporary writings. He writes it avowedly for a social purpose, over against a "frame of reference"—to use another favorite phrase. The frame of reference, that is, the point of view, the philosophy, the assumption of the author, is that the welfare of the nation may best be advanced by a nationally planned economy, conceived by leaders of thought, such as Beard undeniably is, and applied and executed in a collectivist democracy functioning within the framework of the present Constitution of the United States. For this planned economy, a phrase which the author studiously avoids, he recommends many specific details of a practical nature, others less practical (such as schemes for collecting in kind on war debts).

The vastness of the present crisis in economy and thought has convinced the author, as it has convinced most of his countrymen, that neither the "industrialist statecraft" nor the "agrarian statecraft" hitherto practiced can bring the nation out of the present "dilemma", complicated as it is by the dynamic forces of "great technology". Neither statecraft has been adapted studiously to the commonweal. Each of these schools of policy rests on "assumptions relative to a given set of human arrangements within the United

States, which is in process of change, and are now disintegrating under theoretical criticism and actual practice". The formulas of Marxism, the practices of Fascism, and the grand desires of the internationalists—the failure of the last most recently illustrated by Japanese conquests in China and by the ridiculous collapse of the London economic conference—are not strong enough to cope with the paramount forces of nationalism which are now sweeping aside the Manchester school and the "classical economy". Beard will not believe with Spengler (*Man and Technique*) that Western society is ineluctably doomed to go down under the robots of its own creation more cheaply made and lustily used by the pullulating masses of the Orient. "The stoicism of 'doing nothing' and the pessimism of resignation to doom present no positive clues of policy to the statesman."

What then is the proper policy for security, security against enemies without, security against economic disorder and destruction at home? The answer is the policy of the Open Door at Home:

> [A phrase] borrowed in part from a misleading formula of that diplomacy which ostensibly seeks the welfare of the United States by pushing and holding doors open in all parts of the world with all engines of government, ranging from polite coercion to the use of arms. As employed here the title means the most efficient use of the national resources and industrial arts of the nation at home in a quest for security and a high standard of living. This is a direct antithesis of a historic policy which has eventuated in the present economic calamity. It implies reversal of reliance in imprudent risks and invites the American nation to open doors at home, to substitute an intensive cultivation of its own garden for a wasteful, quixotic, and ineffectual extension of interest beyond the reach of competent military and naval defense.

Pointedly: the United States should stop pushing its "interests" (as hitherto inadequately conceived) in the Orient, should give up the Philippines without keeping naval bases or political strings, should renounce the use of the "engines of diplomacy and War" for the advancement of its national interests until those interests are more clearly formulated and related to the commonweal by a new frame of reference. Let a carefully studied balance be struck of the real interests of the nation, on the basis of military, naval, economic, moral, artistic, and aesthetic values. Let a "standard-of-life authority" draw up a "realistic picture of the American nation in terms of things and processes appropriate and indispensable to the highest possible standard of life—a picture as realistic as the domestic arts and engineering *can* [*i.e.,* is actually able to] make it". Then let American foreign trade be adjusted solely to the requirements of that picture and not to the profit of particular interests within the nation. Set up a national trading corporation, or Trade Authority, subordinated (along with the present departments of War and Navy) to the Department of State. Let foreign trade proceed under its strict control. Limit exports to goods and capital which, placed abroad, will advance, rather than

damage the American interest at home. Take imports which will not compete with American industry and agriculture at home. Restrict immigration altogether, except for students, traders, visitors, and persons who will not be permanently domiciled. Adopt the proposals of Charles Warren for defining American neutrality ahead of the next war, so the better to be able to keep out of it. The Court of International Justice is all right, as qualified with the present Senate reservations; so is the League of Nations, later, maybe. Adjust national defense to our own continental home, rather than to overseas trade. Give up the merchant marine, at least as a policy. "So far as the Caribbean and Hawaii are concerned, this is a function requiring little if any addition to the forces for continental defense, but with respect to the Philippines and Samoa absolute supremacy in the Far Pacific is indispensable to the guarding obligation."

The author does not consider the Panama Canal and Alaska, does not even mention Alaska. He dismisses any danger to the Monroe Doctrine by saying that no power has challenged it for many years, and passes by the reason why: the rise of the new American navy. One assumption Beard makes which is as gratuitous as the assumptions which he destroys. He assumes that his policy, and its refined social and technological details can be applied and executed by a collectivist democracy within the framework of the present Constitution of the United States. Would that this were true!

If the reviewer is not greatly mistaken, this work will remain a classic of American political thought, not so compact as the Federalist, but perhaps equally influential. Few American thinkers will agree with all of what Mr. Beard says; none will reject all he says; most will accept most he says. The tract will do what it is calculated to do, unless the author thinks the masses of the people will read it: at a revolutionary juncture in American life it will have a far-reaching influence on our times. If we may believe a contemporary journalist, it has already had a quick influence in an important quarter. President Roosevelt is said to have been one of the first to read it, to mark passages, and jot down marginal comments, adding this annotation to the dominant paragraph on page 152:

"American tradition:
1. Formulate the concept.
2. Debate it and get it adopted.
3. Carry it out."

Beard has formulated a concept. Thinkers will debate it. It will undoubtedly influence political leaders; but American democracy does not now have the inherent qualities, the cohesion, the force, the resolution, the organized intelligence, the morale at present to carry it out. Nevertheless it will be in large measure carried out, in our time, too.

Yale University. SAMUEL FLAGG BEMIS.

SHORTER NOTICES

The Athenian Assessment of 425 B. C. By Benjamin Dean Meritt, Francis White Professor of Greek in the Johns Hopkins University, and Allen Brown West, Professor of Ancient History in the University of Cincinnati. [University of Michigan Studies.] (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, 1934, pp. xiv, 112, $2.50.) Seldom does a work of a highly technical nature contribute so much to the general knowledge of history as the present publication by Meritt and West. In it the two editors, already favorably known wherever Greek epigraphy is studied for their excellent and important investigations of Athenian inscriptions, have rendered a real service. They have given us a new edition with translation, commentaries, plates, and indexes of a badly mutilated Athenian inscription containing a decree providing for an assessment of tribute—the highest ever levied by Athens—and a table showing the sums demanded from the various states within the empire. The fact that it is now possible to determine with fair accuracy the sum total of this levy is due to a long series of studies by various scholars extending over almost a century and culminating in the present edition. A glance at the two plates which show in black the parts of the inscription preserved and in red the parts that have been filled in by editors will reveal the difficulties faced and handled with surprising success. Details, to be sure, remain uncertain. Yet even the amateur can see that in the last line of the inscription, which gives the sum total of the assessment, only one crucial symbol is lacking. Its position is such that it must stand for either 500 or 1000 talents. Meritt and West have been able to demonstrate by means of a detailed study of the preserved parts of this inscription and information culled from other documents that the missing symbol must stand for the larger of the two possible numbers and that the sum total, as far as it can be read, is 1460 talents. With this established it matters little that the figures for the additional odd talents and drachmas have been lost. This result alone, aside from the interest of the documents from other points of view and particularly for the procedure followed in making the assessment, would be enough to justify all the labor involved. Yet, from another point of view, the reference in line 16 to *nomothetai*—unfortunately only in part restored—is almost equally important. It is the earliest existing mention of this institution at Athens.

The University of Chicago. JAKOB A. O. LARSEN.

L'industrie du papyrus dans l'Égypte gréco-romaine. Par N. Lewis, docteur de l'Université de Paris. (Paris, L. Rodstein, 1934, pp. xiii, 186.) Dr. Lewis's dissertation is a study in ancient economic history embracing a critical examination of our information concerning the papyrus plant and a

detailed investigation of the paper industry in Graeco-Roman Egypt. After a discussion of the geographical distribution of the true papyrus (Cyperus papyrus) in ancient times and a résumé of the many uses to which it was put, the author attacks his main theme—the papyrus industry. Here he considers the method of the manufacture of paper from papyrus, the different grades of paper, the spread of this paper throughout the Mediterranean World and its gradual abandonment. He rightly stresses the proper meaning of certain terms: *chartēs,* "roll"; *kollēma,* "leaf"; *selis,* "column of writing". The papyrus grew wild, but was also cultivated in protected marshes, and the cultivated plants furnished material for paper of superior quality. We know nothing of the control of cultivation under the Ptolomies, but apparently the right of manufacture was free. There was, however, a qualified monopoly of sale. The editors of P. Tebtunis III. 709 believe that the manufacturers had to sell all their product to government agents who leased to private individuals the right to sell it locally, forcing the notaries to buy from these lessees. Lewis, on the contrary, maintains that not all the paper manufactured was thus taken over by the state, but only that of fine quality, as he interprets the phrase *basilikoi chartai.* In the Roman period there were privately owned papyrus beds as well as state and imperial marshes, and no monopoly of production, manufacture, or distribution. An interesting but not wholly convincing suggestion is that the so-called *chartēra* was a validation tax on all documents entered at the record offices rather than a charge for the paper itself. The work is of value for students of ancient history generally and not only for specialists in papyrology.

The University of Michigan. A. E. R. Boak.

History of Palestine: the Last Two Thousand Years. By Jacob de Haas. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1934, pp. xxvii, 523, $3.50.) The author realizes that a history of Palestine during the last two thousand years is no facile attempt. In certain periods the lack of source material and secondary literature, in others their overwhelming abundance, the numerous languages in which they are written, the partisan bias permeating most of them—all make the task of the historian extremely arduous. It cannot be asserted that Mr. de Haas has succeeded in escaping the pitfalls. The amazing stock of pertinent information which he has accumulated in patient research of thirty years is frequently vitiated by inaccuracies and often baffling lacunae. His is, nevertheless, a praiseworthy effort to sketch the fascinating history of the country during the less familiar two millenniums of Roman, Byzantine, Arabic, Latin, and Turkish dominations.

After a stimulating introduction, sharply delineating Palestine's place in the history of the Mediterranean World, the author devotes five chapters to the Roman-Byzantine period. He does little more here than restate well-

known facts, often failing to utilize both the more familiar literary data accumulated in the two standard works of Schürer and Juster and the considerable contributions of recent Palestinian archaeology, particularly with respect to the Byzantine period. Several misprints in the Latin words are also disturbing. There follows an interesting, though brief, treatment of the early Islamic age. But the extensive Arabic sources (assembled, for example, in Mednikow's voluminous Russian monograph and Dinaburg's Hebrew source collection) might have been used to much greater advantage. Notwithstanding his own justified criticism of his predecessors (p. viii), the author devotes the subsequent four chapters to the two centuries of the Latin domination as against only three in which he deals with the much more significant half millennium of Egyptian and Turkish rule to Napoleon's Eastern campaign. One would look in vain for the utilization of Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mameloukes d'après les auteurs arabes* (Paris, 1923) and of the vast Hebrew material in the periodicals *Yerushalaim, Siyon,* etc. Of much greater interest is the treatment of the modern period. The re-emergence of Palestine in the consciousness of the Western peoples, as a result of reawakened religious piety, archaeological curiosity, and the sharp rivalries of the European powers on the Eastern question, is rightly stressed. The climactic developments during the World War and after, in some of which the author himself has taken an active part, are graphically described. This section is generally well documented and offers many thought-provoking interpretations. The volume thus gives a fair idea of the political framework of the bimillennial history. Many scholarly monographs will have to be written before another attempt of this kind can be crowned with fuller success.

Columbia University. SALO W. BARON.

The Collected Papers of Thomas Frederick Tout with a Memoir and Bibliography. Volume II, *Historical Articles;* volume III, *Lectures.* [University of Manchester Historical Series.] (Manchester, University Press, 1934, pp. viii, 340; viii, 285, 15*s.* each.) The thirteen papers included in Volume II deal with medieval history, mainly with the history of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. To a large extent the papers are reprinted from easily accessible sources. Seven originally appeared in the *English Historical Review* and one, "John of Halton, Bishop of Carlisle", as the introduction to a volume of the Canterbury and York Society. There is much to be said for the reprinting of the occasional papers of distinguished historians, especially when, as in the present instance, editorial references to later work on the same subjects are added. Yet, at a time when educational institutions the world over face reduced incomes, the necessity of reprinting from volumes found in every well-equipped library may be gently questioned.

The third volume of the papers is not subject to the same criticism for, of its nine lectures, all save one were first published in the *Bulletin* of the John Rylands Library and the one originally appeared in the *Proceedings* of the British Academy.

The papers in the second volume cover a wide range of subjects. Wales and the Marches occupy the attention of two (nos. I and III). There is an informative paper on "Flintshire: its History and Records" (pp. 21–44). Of the several papers on military operations that on "Firearms in England in the Fourteenth Century" (pp. 233–275) will make the widest appeal. That on "The English Parliament and Public Opinion, 1376–1388" (pp. 173–190) is an excellent example of Professor Tout's method of handling his material, but his insight and utilization of available sources is best illustrated by the thoughtful paper on "The Household of the Chancery and its Disintegration" (pp. 143–171). The careful weighing of often tantalizingly meager evidence relating to the *hospicium cancellariae* results in a description of that household which is eminently reasonable and sound. On the other hand, the interpretation of *communitas bacheleriae Angliae* in the eleventh paper of the series (pp. 277–283) as "a chance number of rash young gentlemen" (p. 283) was unfortunate, for E. F. Jacob and F. M. Powicke have shown it to be erroneous; the bachelors were not necessarily young, they were largely substantial men, and they may not be described simply as "rash". The lectures included in the third volume are excellent examples of Professor Tout's more popular style. Deserving of special mention are those on "The English Civil Service in the Fourteenth Century" (pp. 191–221), "The Beginnings of a Modern Capital" (pp. 249–275), and "Some Conflicting Tendencies in English Administrative History during the Fourteenth Century" (pp. 223–247). They bear witness to his broad knowledge of fourteenth century administrative developments.

The University of Colorado. JAMES F. WILLARD.

Histoire de la Turquie depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours. Par Colonel Lamouche, ancien instructeur de la Gendarmerie ottomane (1904–1913). Préface de René Pinon. [Bibliothèque historique.] (Paris, Payot, 1934, pp. 427, 30 fr.) Colonel Lamouche has been writing about Balkan and Near Eastern affairs for the last forty years. He knows this area thoroughly, he knows the languages and he understands the people. These are unusual qualifications, which make his books on recent Balkan problems informative and valuable. But Colonel Lamouche is not a historian and he has added nothing whatever in this general survey of Turkish history. To read it one would never suspect that anything had been learned about the subject in the last fifty or a hundred years. The earlier part takes no account at all of recent researches by German scholars and shows no appreciation of the almost

insuperable difficulties of the subject. Iorga is referred to here and there on minor points, but for the rest the narrative—and it is all simple and uncritical narrative—is based on Hammer, Cahun, and other writers now out of date. In like fashion the chapter on Turkish administration is grounded almost entirely upon D'Ohsson! These few remarks will suffice to indicate the nature of the book. It is perfectly conventional and on the whole drier than it need be even as a simple narrative. Whole chapters on the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries come to little more than abstracts of the main treaties as given by Noradounghian. When Colonel Lamouche comes to the late nineteenth century and the early twentieth he has an excellent opportunity to draw on his own wide experience and personal knowledge. But he eschews it, and refers the reader to his *Quinze ans d'histoire balkanique*. What he offers is hardly more than can be found in any good general text. There is a long bibliography which catalogues all the well-known works on the subject, but takes no account of recent monographic writing.

Harvard University. WILLIAM L. LANGER.

The Crusade of Nicopolis. By Aziz Suryal Atiya, M.A., Ph.D., Tutor in History, School of Oriental Studies, University of London. (London, Methuen and Company, 1934, pp. xii, 234.) This study "is the final chapter of a projected history of the crusade in the later Middle Ages". It is written for scholars after exhaustive research, often in manuscript material, in the libraries of London, Oxford, Cambridge, Manchester, Paris, Dijon, Brussels, Venice, Vienna, and Cairo. The author sketches conditions in the various states of Europe favorable, or more often unfavorable, to a crusade in the later fourteenth century; he describes the continuous propaganda carried on to keep alive crusading ardor; and he explains the diplomatic and financial preparations of the leaders, especially the magnificent outfit provided for the young John the Fearless by the duke of Burgundy. He then follows in detail the march of the armies, the negotiations with Sigismund of Hungary, the battle of Nicopolis, and the ransoming of the prisoners. He discusses at some length the relative size and efficiency of the opposing forces. A series of appendixes contains supplementary material of interest.

There is little that is new in the present volume, but much care has been taken to gather and present all the evidence in a most judicious manner. Particularly useful is the comparison of the opinions of modern authorities on doubtful or disputed points with references to the sources on which these conclusions are based. The causes of the disaster are properly attributed to the lack of discipline and absence of plan on the part of the crusaders and to the insane desire for individual glory which led the French to ignore the advice of Sigismund and even of the more experienced warriors of their own nation. The numbers of the opposing armies were approximately equal,

but the Turks had the advantage of rigid discipline, unified command, and a leader of real tactical genius. The leaders of the various contingents are identified wherever possible. Dr. Atiya shows that the leader of the English crusaders could not have been Henry Bolingbroke and was probably not John Beaufort, as appears in the articles by Tout and Pollard in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. There is a possibility of the presence of John Holand, earl of Huntingdon, Richard II's brother, on the crusade, but even that is doubtful. No final word is possible with our present knowledge.

The bibliography is full and admirably selected and arranged. The proofreading is excellent throughout. Such slips as do occur will not confuse the reader. The scholarship displayed in this study gives promise of an exhaustive and most welcome history of the later crusades to follow. That the fall of Acre did not end crusading enthusiasm is well known, but we possess no adequate discussion of the efforts of idealists in the fourteenth century to keep alive the medieval conception of a united Christendom at war with the infidel as the proper field of European ambition.

New York University. A. A. Beaumont, jr.

Spain: a Brief History. By William C. Atkinson, Stevenson Professor of Spanish in the University of Glasgow. (London, Methuen and Company, 1934, pp. x, 200, 6*s*.)

The Origins of Modern Spain. By J. B. Trend, Professor of Spanish in the University of Cambridge. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1934, pp. 220, $2.50.) I strongly recommend this history by Professor Atkinson to anyone desiring a clear idea of the panorama of Spain throughout the ages. The author has divided his work into two parts, the first "Spain in travail", the second "Spain as a nation". The first part deals with the Romans, Visigoths, Moslems, and Christians, the second with "Idealism and Empire", "The Aftermath", "Reabsorption in Europe", and "Liberalism beset". Throughout it is the panorama that is always kept before the reader's eye, and only such events and men as clarify that panorama receive attention from the writer. The result is to give the reader a succession of startlingly clear pictures of Spain during eight epochs of its history, and to spare him the boredom entailed in the reading of lists of kings and their wives, of battles and wars which have long since lost any importance they once may have had. This subordination of the trivial facts of history to discussions of the civilization of the various epochs gives Professor Atkinson's work a place apart among histories of Spain, accessible to the Anglo-Saxon reader who knows no Spanish.

The contrast between *Spain* and the *Origins of Modern Spain* is painful. In the latter the picture is lost in the details, the central figures among those who surround them. Professor Trend likes words, he is interested in every

detail of his subject, and he tries and succeeds in getting them all in. These central figures are not very interesting—very worthy people certainly—but not exciting. No doubt the book will be useful for students of the period, but it has little else in its favor.

The University of Illinois. ARTHUR HAMILTON.

Natural Law and the Theory of Society, 1500 to 1800, by Otto Gierke, with a Lecture on the Ideas of Natural Law and Humanity by Ernst Troeltsch. Translated with an Introduction by Ernest Barker, Professor of Political Science in the University of Cambridge. (Cambridge, University Press; New York, Macmillan Company, 1934, pp. xci, 423, $9.00.) Gierke's *Das deutsche Genossenschaftsrecht,* of which the first volume was published in 1868 and the last not until 1913, has long been known and admired by English and American political scientists. In 1900 Professor Maitland published, under the title *Political Theories of the Middle Ages,* a translation of a part of the third volume. Now Professor Barker offers us a version of that part of the fourth volume which traces the history of the conception of Natural Law from the age of the Reformation to the age of the French Revolution and of the German idealistic philosophy. For the purposes of the student the translation is admirably done. The German's voice of thunder has been transformed into useful electric power.

But Professor Barker offers us far more than did Gierke. In the first place a delightful and illuminating lecture by Troeltsch, contrasting the romantic German conception of Natural Law with the classic Western European and American conception, is inserted as a fitting supplement. Secondly, in an introduction of eighty pages, Professor Barker provides an excellent criticism of Gierke, together with additional material to fill in the lacunae in his treatise. Neither Hooker nor Burke nor Paine nor Vattel nor Bentham nor the American republicans appear in Gierke's pages. As there are omissions in his history, so there are some slips. These omissions are pointed out and lightly filled in, and these slips are corrected by the learned editor. The general evaluation of Gierke's thought, though hardly profound, is eminently intelligent and well informed. In short, the whole work amounts to a new edition, revised and enlarged, of a justly valued classic.

Cornell University. PRESERVED SMITH.

Le Saint-Siège et les troubles des Pays-Bas, 1566–1579. Par Bernard de Meester, docteur en philosophie et lettres. (Louvain, Bibliothèque de l'Université, 1934, pp. xxiv, 166, 40 fr.) In the field of national history, the University of Louvain appears now to be playing the same rôle in Belgium that Leiden has played so long in Holland. The work of Vander Essen and his pupils forms an admirable counterpart to the labors of Fruin

and Blok, and the history of the rise of the Dutch Republic is properly being complemented by the story of revolt and pacification in the southern Netherlands.

The account by Dr. de Meester covers the period of thirteen years when the papacy was vitally concerned with developments in the Low Countries. We note that the Counter Reformation was no myth, that Pius V and Gregory XIII insisted above all things on reform within the Church and extermination of heresy wherever possible, and that King Philip II was the only monarch upon whom they could rely with confidence. Although the king of Spain was stronger than the pope, he carefully left the impression in Rome that the work of Alva was intended primarily to uphold the purity of the Roman Catholic faith. Pius had hoped that Philip would appear himself in the distracted provinces, and that Alva's army would seize Geneva on its way north; but the Spanish ruler made the pontiff acquiesce in his own plans. Welcome light is shed on the negotiations conducted by the two popes mentioned.

Annotations and bibliography are adequate; the narrative is well organized, and the important conclusions are clearly set forth. The author does not, however, seem to have utilized sufficiently the *Correspondance française de Marguerite d'Autriche,* edited by J. S. Theissen.

The University of Michigan. A. Hyma.

Willem Sewel of Amsterdam, 1653–1720, the First Quaker Historian of Quakerism. By William I. Hull, Ph.D., F. R. Hist. S., Howard M. Jenkins Research Professor of Quaker History in Swarthmore College. [Swarthmore College Monographs on Quaker History, No. I.] (Swarthmore, Swarthmore College, 1933, pp. xii, 225, $2.00.) Quaker history, because of the wide and beneficent spread of Quaker influence, has an importance out of all proportion to Quaker numbers. A regrettable gap in that history has been our lack of knowledge of the history of Quakerism in the Netherlands, to which, and to neighboring parts of Germany, early Friends carried it with great zeal and temporary success. It is to be feared that this deficiency has existed largely because the subject cannot be pursued without reading much Dutch, a language of which English and American scholars fight singularly shy. Professor Hull, however, amply equipped with knowledge of the Dutch language as well as of Quaker history, has courageously undertaken to cover the whole subject, in a series of nine monographs, of which the first, in order of publication though not of logic, is this life of William Sewel, Dutchman of partly English descent, author of that invaluable Quaker classic, *The History of the Rise, Increase, and Progress of the Christian People called Quakers,* first published in Dutch in 1717 and in English in 1722.

Sewel lived a life of poverty, simplicity, unselfishness, and piety, in which

he supported himself by teaching languages and translating. Its chief events were the publication of these translations, of his Dutch-English dictionary, still useful, and of the *History,* and, earliest of all, a journey in youth to England, fruitful in Quaker acquaintance and subsequent correspondence bringing abundant data for the *History.* Professor Hull narrates this life with sympathy, scholarship, and intelligence, giving copious translations from Sewel's many Latin and Dutch letters. He might well have abridged some of this material to make room for a fuller critical account of the *History,* since that is Sewel's chief claim to our consideration. A fuller discussion of the relation of Gerard Croese's *Historia Quakeriana* to Sewel's *History* would also have been welcome. The scrupulous practice of frequently inserting in the translations, in parentheses, the Latin or Dutch words of the original impedes the reader and is quite unnecessary, since Professor Hull's translations are very exact and skillful. The Tigurine canton (p. 102) is Zürich, not Vaud. Sewel's dedication of the *History* (p. 185) is to George I.

The Treatment of Poverty in Cambridgeshire, 1597–1834. By E. M. Hampson, M.A., Ph.D., Sometime Research Fellow of Newnham College, Cambridge. [Cambridge Studies in Economic History, General Editor, J. H. Clapham.] (Cambridge, University Press; New York, Macmillan Company, 1934, pp. xx, 308, $5.25.) This work aims to examine in detail the actual working of the poor law in the parishes of Cambridgeshire. The author has assembled innumerable, if sometimes fragmentary, records gathered from manuscript and printed sources. No other such detailed study of an English county exists. While it is true, as Professor Clapham admits in his editorial preface, that this volume does not shift "more than a very little" existing judgments upon the operation of the poor law, yet it amplifies the basis of those judgments by the addition of new factual data.

It is apparent that in Cambridgeshire Tudor legislation on poor relief caused no sharp alteration of policy. Parishes were already resorting upon occasion to compulsory rating and the provision of work for the unemployed before Parliament made such action mandatory. This bears out Miss Leonard's contention that local regulations suggested the provisions of the statutes.[1] Only slowly and partially were the statutes put into operation in Cambridgeshire where they were at variance with local procedure. At Wisbech, down to 1834, compulsory rates, infrequently levied, were merely supplementary to private benefactions. Here, too, corporate control of poor relief never gave place to parish control. In rural parishes overseers were only gradually appointed. Similarly from the early eighteenth century Cambridgeshire parishes were occasionally employing the devices that later became

[1]E. M. Leonard, *The Early History of English Poor Relief* (Cambridge, 1900), p. 23.

ubiquitous in England: allowances in aid of wages, the roundsman system, bread scales.

The particularism characteristic of poor law administration throughout England except when privy council pressure was heaviest made such local experimentation possible but also doomed much of it to failure. In Cambridgeshire parishes repeatedly tried out poorhouses, workhouses, bridewells, or combinations of all three; pension lists for the aged and impotent; the provision of work for the able-bodied in their homes or in institutions; houses of industry for the profitable employment of the poor. But futility marked their efforts to escape from the well-worn ruts of pensions, doles, work sparsely furnished in the home, and poorhouses for a few children, derelicts, and impotent. The one striking exception in this record of inefficiency was afforded by Wisbech in the Isle of Ely. Elsewhere the jealousy of parishes prevented co-operation even under the Act of 1723 or Gilbert's Act.

Valuable information is contained in this study concerning the place of private benefactions in poor relief. The section on removals presents interesting material upon the actual procedure.

Structurally this work is marred by overorganization. The bewildering array of sections and subsections is destructive of unity and continuity.

The University of Chicago. FRANCES E. GILLESPIE.

The Spanish Origin of International Law. Part I, *Francisco de Vitoria and his Law of Nations.* By James Brown Scott, Secretary of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Professor of International Law and of Foreign Relations of the United States in Georgetown University. [Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.] (New York, Oxford University Press, 1934, pp. 19a, 288, clviii, $3.50.) It is clearly evident that the preparation of this volume has been a labor of love on the part of Dr. Scott. After a chapter upon the era of discoveries showing the influence of broadening horizons upon men's minds, he proceeds to maintain the thesis supporting the Spanish origin of international law by placing in strong relief the merits of the contributions of Francisco de Vitoria (1483–1546). In the days of Victoria's teaching at the University of Salamanca, 1526–1546, there were events that challenged thought and discussion. Victoria's departure, in the early sixteenth century, from the usual method of teaching by referring to topics not mentioned by earlier authors, and which might at the time be controversial, required courage. Dr. Scott's extended commentary shows that Victoria's treatment of the status of Indian aborigines set forth positions at variance with the political leaders of his time and called for a higher sanction than the applause of men. Victoria saw rights and obligations as correlative even in the relations of Spaniards and Indians, and does not find even

in diversity of religion a just cause of war, the objects of which he would limit to an approximation to the modern formula of reducing the enemy to terms with the least possible loss of life and property. Victoria's liberal attitude in discussion of the civil power and of many ideas subsequently embodied in international law, as well as his method and spirit find a warm approval in the presentation by Dr. Scott who concludes that Victoria "was not merely the founder of the modern law of nations but the prophet of the newer law of nations".

Appendixes contain in translation readings of Victoria, "On the Indians lately Discovered", "On the Law of War", "Concerning Civil Power", "Concerning Power of the Church", and notes on questions of Thomas Aquinas relating to the law of nations and of nature and relating to war. A good index adds to the value of the book.

Harvard University. GEORGE GRAFTON WILSON.

History of the Peking Summer Palaces under the Ch'ing Dynasty. By Carroll Brown Malone. [Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences.] (Urbana, University of Illinois, 1934, pp. 247, $3.00.) In a foreword Professor emeritus E. T. Williams of the University of California truly says that "the future historian will be indebted to Dr. Malone for the painstaking labor with which he has collected the information stored in this volume". Simply told and carefully supported by Chinese and foreign authorities, Professor Malone's book gathers the threads to form a fascinating story of what easily might have been a dull, monotonous account. Profusely illustrated by photographs, engravings, and maps, the book offers to persons interested in Oriental culture and history a valuable insight into a subject about which the Chinese one day will doubtless be proud. Two appendixes provide lists of important names with their Chinese characters and of sources and bibliography. An index adds to the book's usefulness.

The contents include nine chapters, the first a brief introduction and summary. The next five deal with the K'ang-Hsi, Yung-Cheng, and Ch'ien-Lung reigns, 1661–1796, the glorious period of the summer palaces near Peking. A brief chapter disposes of the Chia-Ch'ing, Tao-Kuang, and Hsien-Feng reigns, 1796–1861; and two interesting chapters on the looting and destruction of the summer palaces in 1860 and on the rebuilding of a new summer palace by 1894 bring this history to a close. Fortunately Professor Malone has used native material as well as non-Chinese works; and his residence in the summer palace region gave him an opportunity to do considerable original research. His arrival in China in 1911 preceded the Manchu abdication; and his years spent there evidently allowed him to secure both a background and definite facts for his study.

While the latter is limited to the subject in its title, the author does not

rule out brief political summaries, especially when they involve the summer palace region near Peking. The chapter on the Anglo-French campaign in 1860 is, perhaps, the best example. The later years, particularly since 1912, are not treated with much detail, though this may be due to the fact that the dynasty's rule over the former empire was ended. However, the young Manchu emperor and his family, in accordance with the abdication pact of 1912, did hold title to the summer palace region as late as November, 1924. This Professor Malone only suggests (pp. 209, 218).

Aside from a few minor inaccuracies, Professor Malone's volume is a distinct contribution to knowledge of the Ch'ing dynasty.

The International Institute of China. JOHN GILBERT REID.

Constantin-François Volney, La loi naturelle ou Catéchisme du Citoyen français. Édition complète et critique, textes de 1793 et de 1826. Par Gaston Martin, agrégé d'histoire et de géographie, docteur ès-lettres. [Les classiques de la Révolution française.] (Paris, Armand Colin, 1934, pp. viii, 161, 20 fr.) This is the third work published in the Classics series and the first to appear after the death of its founder, Albert Mathiez. Assurance is now given that the series will be continued in accordance with the original plan under the direction of Georges Lefebvre. The present volume is a worthy addition to the list. Volney was a sincere moderate and an able writer. It would perhaps be difficult to find a better representative of the doctrinaire liberals of the time. He took an active part in the pre-Revolutionary agitation, writing several pamphlets and editing a paper, the *Sentinelle du Peuple*. In 1790 he published *Les ruines ou méditations sur les révolutions des empires,* the philosophy of which he incorporated in the form of a dialogue in *La loi naturelle ou Catéchisme du Citoyen français.* The original edition of the latter was published in August, 1793, just three months before Volney was imprisoned in Paris on the charge of royalism and federalism. While the *Catéchisme* appeared at a time when ruthless action rather than philosophy was becoming dominant, its political and social doctrines did have some influence later in the fields of higher education and legislation. The work under review contains not only the text of the extremely rare first edition but also that of the larger and modified edition of 1826. The editing is most competently done by Gaston Martin who has already published several fine studies on the eighteenth century and the Revolution. A good biographical sketch of Volney is included.

The State University of Iowa. GEORGE GORDON ANDREWS.

Der deutsche Seehandel im Mittelmeergebiet bis zu den Napoleonischen Kriegen. Von Ludwig Beutin. [Abhandlungen zur Handels- und Seegeschichte im Auftrage des hansischen Geschichtsvereins, herausgegeben von

Fritz Rörig und Walther Vogel, Band I.] (Neumünster i. H., Karl Wachholtz, 1933, pp. xv, 217, 7.50 M.). Hanseatic voyages to the Mediterranean began about 1590 when scarcity of grain in the Italian cities caused the sending of agents to the north to arrange for shipments. A fairly extensive direct trade between the northern ports, notably Danzig and Hamburg, and the Mediterranean lasted until 1609. After that date the Dutch predominated so completely that Amsterdam became a point of reshipment. The Barbary pirates proved an obstacle to German voyages to the Mediterranean throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Hanseatic cities lacked the resources to cope with them; Prussia had neither the fleet nor the will; of the German ports, only those of Schleswig-Holstein, subject to the Danish king, had the backing of a monarch with the will and power to advance their maritime expansion.

This story is elaborated in scholarly fashion on the basis of the results obtained by historians of the German seaports, notably by Dr. E. Baasch in his studies of Hamburg trade, and by the author in his researches in Italian, French, and German archives. Statistical tables supplement the text. The usefulness of the volume is impaired by the lack of an index.

The significance of his story the author derives from certain clearly defined and frankly stated preoccupations. Sea voyages in search of profit deserve historical attention only in that they are part of the life process of a nation. The Mediterranean voyages were but a small fraction of the total trade of the German seaports. But they possess special significance because they formed an outpost of German maritime life. Their precariousness made them particularly susceptible to the fortunes and misfortunes of the nation, and caused them to reflect the inadequacy of the political leadership offered the German people in these centuries.

The Johns Hopkins University. FREDERIC CHAPIN LANE.

The Private Record of an Indian Governor-Generalship: the Correspondence of Sir John Shore, Governor-General, with Henry Dundas, President of the Board of Control, 1793–1798. Edited with an Introduction and Notes by Holden Furber. [Harvard Historical Monographs, II.] (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1933, pp. ix, 206, $1.50.) This volume is a useful little addition to the printed records of British India, essentially for the use of the student. After the Oriental brilliance of the careers and personalities of Clive, Hastings, Cornwallis, and the other proconsuls, Sir John Shore's governor-generalship wears an undeniably dun hue. Shore was a conscientious civil servant who seemed unable or unwilling to act except under instruction, and instructions to British India were enormously slow in those days if they came from Britain, and very conflicting if they came from India.

The letters reflect the qualities in Shore which Mr. Furber lists—neutrality, conciliatoriness, and vacillation—and at the same time a willingness to be reasonable and open-minded in an environment where neither the Company officers, ardently jealous of their separate organization, nor the Indian peoples, like the Mahrattas or the men of Oudh, understood or admired mildness and tolerance.

Sir John Shore had his difficulties. The mutinous sentiments in the British forces; the antagonism of the Nizam and the Mahrattas that became so acute during his administration; the outbreak in Oudh in 1797; these were the most serious. And there were others, less onerous, but unsettling; the resignation of officers to enter other professions (p. 39); the "example" of "Duboigne who commands Sindia's Army" and attracts Europeans to serve under him, including Englishmen; and so on.

His letters, therefore, while humble in tone, pedestrian in style, and stilted in manner, have a real interest and are full of interesting touches: as for example, "Mr Joy, the American Consul although not acknowledged by Us" (p. 67); the possibilities of "the sics [Sikhs]" ever becoming formidable (p. 147); and the "licentiousness of our newspapers in Calcutta" which is "too dangerous to be permitted in this country".

There are four useful appendixes—one of them on the "Mutinous Discontent" and another longer one on the Oudh Revolution—a short bibliography of secondary authorities, and an index.

McGill University. T. W. L. MacDermot.

Friendly Relations: a Narrative of Britain's Ministers and Ambassadors to America, 1791–1930. By Beckles Willson. (Boston, Little, Brown, and Company, 1934, pp. viii, 350, $4.00.) Mr. Beckles Willson, experienced and facile bookmaker, plainly did not set out to make in this volume a very solid contribution to diplomatic history. That would have required an amount of study which, as its superficial views and a multitude of small errors show, he did not take the trouble to undergo. He set out to make a book which should be interesting and entertaining. It will entertain many British readers—especially among the less open-minded. Its interest and value lie in the copious quotations from the dispatches sent by the British envoys in Washington to the foreign secretary in London, derived from diligent reading in the F.O. section of the Public Record Office. These quotations are mostly unamiable; many American readers will be surprised to see how uniformly the British ministers have disliked us—except Bryce, whom accordingly Mr. Willson thinks to have been unsuccessful and quotes but once. Americans are quoted when they speak ill of their nation and its public men. The great defect of the book consists in its sole reliance upon the testimonies of the British diplomats. In Mr. Willson's pages, the American negotiator

"alleges" or "pretends" or "strives to maintain"; the British, with the calmness natural to a superior being, "points out". In other words, the Briton's statements are solid gospel truth; the counter-statements of the American are negligible. Francis Jackson's and Crampton's and Sackville-West's accounts of the conduct which led to their dismissal are accepted and transcribed without discount; they are conclusive, the final word. Is not this somewhat old-fashioned, in 1935? Is it not nowadays a commonplace of diplomatic history that one cannot arrive at the truth without taking into account—into equal account if one can—the evidences supplied by both parties? Would not a visitor from Mars, somewhat instructed in the logic of probabilities, think it a priori unlikely that, throughout a hundred and fifty years of negotiation, the British were always right, their claims always reasonable, their opponents always grasping, tricky, and demagogic? Such a visitor would surely question why the book is entitled *Friendly Relations*. It would not read to him like a narrative of friendly relations. Certainly it will do nothing to promote them.

The Library of Congress. J. F. Jameson.

Russian Diplomacy and the Opening of the Eastern Question in 1838 and 1839. By Philip E. Mosely. [Harvard Historical Monographs.] (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1934, pp. 178, $1.50.) Dr. Mosely's study embodies a new approach to the problem of the Near Eastern crisis of 1839–1841, both as to source material and the emphasis upon the year 1838. The period covered was almost omitted even in Goriainov's work on the Straits. The research for this essay was carried on in the Russian diplomatic archives for 1838–1842. The author does not appear to have used the extensive British, French, and Austrian archives for the correlating dispatches.

The study concerns the negotiations for 1838 and the early months of 1839 for the most part, although the introductory pages briefly sketch Russia's policy in the Near Eastern Question and in reference to the Treaty of Unkiar-Iskelessi (1833). It is likely that the author would have interpreted the period from 1833 to 1838 differently had he investigated the determinations of the secret conference of 1829 at which the major lines of Russia's policy were laid down. The significant new material from the Russian archives is well analyzed in four chapters which treat the military plans of Russia in 1838, the failure of the international conference plan that year, Franco-Russian relations in the Eastern Question, and Anglo-Russian rivalry for influence in Turkey. The thirty-page documentary appendix is especially valuable. It includes a report by Nesselrode which presents the vice chancellor's reasons for desiring the closure of the Straits to warships, a document by Pozzo di Borgo advising against the sacrifice of Russia's fundamental interests in Turkey in favor of action in isolated questions, such as

Egypt, and five exchanges between Butenev and Nesselrode which give the Russian reactions to the Anglo-Turkish negotiations and joint naval maneuvers in 1838.

The entire year 1839 is not covered, leaving the story somewhat "in the air" at its conclusion. Especially is this true in the omission of the Brunnow mission to London, summarized by Goriainov. The lengthy statement by Brunnow in 1838 of Russian policy in the preceding years (published in the documentary appendix of Zaïonchkovskii) might have given additional perspective for the study of the problems of 1838. No bibliography is included, but the footnotes indicate the use of a number of the published sources and a few of the monographs. The French spelling of Nicholas (*Nicolas*) is employed.

The work fills an important gap, is scholarly and readable, and, within its very limited scope, is adequate.

Humboldt State Teachers College. VERNON J. PURYEAR.

Rudolf Haym und die Anfänge des klassischen Liberalismus. Von Hans Rosenberg. [Beiheft 31 der Historischen Zeitschrift.] (Munich, R. Oldenbourg, 1933, pp. 208, 8.50 M.) After completing his edition of a selection from Haym's papers for the series *Deutsche Geschichtsquellen des XIX. Jahrhunderts,* Dr. Rosenberg planned a monograph on Haym and classic German liberalism. Compelled by events in Germany to abandon this project, he has had to content himself with the presentation of a partial study. In some two hundred pages strewn with polysyllabic abstractions, he has analyzed the intellectual currents that whirled about the young student at Halle in the early 1840's, the changes in the philosophical outlook of the young scholar, and the hopes and disappointments of the moderate but unpractical member of the Frankfort Parliament.

Dr. Rosenberg sees in Haym the typical representative of that manifestation of German life which sprang from the synthesis of the ages of Goethe, Hegel, and Bismarck, and became historically operative in the form of "classical liberalism", of that liberalism of the intellectual aristocracy rooted in the epoch of classical thought and literature, which developed a "Weltanschauung des 'Ideal-realismus' " and exerted a determining influence on the spiritual life of nineteenth century Germany.

Hegel, D. F. Strauss, Feuerbach, and many lesser men influenced Haym in turn. Gradually reacting against them, he constructed his own eclectic system of thought. The United Diet of 1847 gave him his first real contacts with political life and his *Reden und Redner des ersten preussischen Vereinigten Landtags* made him widely known as a publicist. In the Frankfort Parliament, he played a minor part. Like many other moderates, he preferred the "law and order" of the revived Prussian monarchy to the

"anarchy" of the democrats. With the victory of the crown over the Prussian constituent assembly, the fate of the "middle of the road" liberals was sealed and after Frederick William rejected the German imperial crown, Haym retired from active political life.

The University of Minnesota. LAWRENCE D. STEEFEL.

The Prince Consort and his Brother: Two Hundred Letters. Edited by Hector Bolitho. (London, Cobden-Sanderson, 1933, pp. ii, 225, 7*s.* 6*d.*) Since Prince Albert's letters to his brother were among the most confidential that he ever wrote, they must be of exceptional value. Unfortunately, the editor of this collection decided to print, in whole or part, those "mostly personal, avoiding political issues . . . already well described in public histories". Nor could one expect too much from a volume dedicated "by permission" and in flowery terms to the surviving children of the prince. But enough has escaped censorship to whet one's appetite for the rest. There are, for example, passages which confirm the worst that has been said about Bourbon conduct in connection with the Spanish marriages; there are others which show the prince intensely hostile to Russia in the early weeks of 1854, and eager to confront the czar with a league of the other four great powers. There is a long and shrewd letter on the shifts of British public opinion concerning the war of 1859, and a curious accusation that in England, Belgium, Switzerland, and Germany the French were "buying up all newspapers and making them unpalatable". Moreover, the veil is sometimes lifted from matters of domestic politics. One is glad to have a confession that Palmerston ("our *immoral one for foreign affairs*") was tolerated at the foreign office after 1848 in large part from the fear that he would raise the "radicals" against the throne itself. Surely someone more interested than Mr. Bolitho in "political issues . . . already well described in public histories" will tell us what else this correspondence does contain.

Wesleyan University. HERBERT C. BELL.

European Civilization and Politics since 1815. By Erik Achorn, Ph.D., Travelling Fellow, Harvard University, 1922–1924. (New York, Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1934, xxiii, 879, $4.00.) This volume, says the author, is "an attempt to reach a goal hitherto unattained . . . a treatment of modern European history that shall be entertaining as well as informing . . . and, secondly, an attempt to present a more satisfactory synthesis along the lines of the New History than has so far been offered". Entertaining, it certainly is; but, without disparagement, hardly unique in that respect. For even "the elders" now and then produced a textbook (still remembered by their students) that could entertain as well as instruct. But Dr. Achorn need not fear the comparison, with a narrative evidently inspired by a lively imagination,

and told in an engaging and sprightly manner, with a free use of the picturesque, and even an occasional dash of the journalistic. Witness certain chapter headings, "The European Jack-in-the-box" (Napoleon III), "Too many cooks, or too few?" (The Peace Conference), "From Chrysalis to Butterfly" (Iraq); or such characterizations as, "a disgruntled misfit" (Rousseau), "an ill-timed joke" (Nicholas II), "swanky Christ Church, Oxford", "that temperamental vegetable" (the potato).

In scope and content the book differs from other texts in the same field chiefly in the amount of space accorded to cultural factors in the evolution of modern Europe, and in the correlation of these factors with the political and the economic, with a view to producing a comprehensive and unified picture of contemporary European civilization. That is obviously a large order, one which no specialist would undertake, or even judge feasible. But, admitting that, and recognizing a lack of symmetry and proportion here and there (for example, the scant notice of literature and art, also elements in civilization, as compared with the excellent account of scientific and technical progress, and the discussion of recent philosophical tendencies), it must be acknowledged that Dr. Achorn has sustained his thesis very ably.

Of the chapters on politics particularly good are those on the era of Bismarck, prewar diplomacy and the outbreak of the War, the War (a graphic and vivid story), the Chinese Revolution, Soviet Russia, Fascist Italy, and the British Empire-Commonwealth. Less satisfactory are the sections on nineteenth century Russia, England 1866–1906, and the Near and Middle East; the treatment of the Peace Conference, which is rather subjective and temperamental; and the sketches of the secondary states since 1919, scarcely adequate even as summaries.

Here and there the author needlessly exposes himself to criticism by gratuitous superlative or unwarranted emphasis; for example, MacDonald was "deemed by Americans the greatest of all England's Prime Ministers" (p. 552); "this new Cromwell", Mustafa Kemal (p. 609); Lenin, a "Titan", who "beside Napoleon . . . looms like a demigod" (p. 532). There are few typographical errors or other slips.

Equipped, as it is, with excellent maps, appendixes, and an up-to-date bibliography the book is well designed for college use, and should prove useful, stimulating, and popular.

Brown University. THEODORE COLLIER.

European Treaties bearing on the History of the United States and its Dependencies. Edited by Frances Gardiner Davenport. Volume III, *1698–1715*. (Washington, Carnegie Institution, 1934, pp. vi, 269, $2.00.) This is the last of Miss Davenport's publications. Before her death she had completed her learned notes for the texts here reproduced, and those who

remember her last days recall unforgettably how she struggled valiantly, against the death she alone knew to be close by, to complete this volume. The essential part was complete when she died, and Dr. Jameson, her former colleague and chief, has patiently finished the details of editing that remained to be done. It is unnecessary here to stress further the nature of this great work of editing, and the prodigious learning which went into it—that has been done in reviews of the previous volumes. Miss Davenport's notes stop with the Treaty of Utrecht and ancillary treaties of 1713. If future volumes carry on the texts, we cannot, alas, expect these unique notes to be continued. Dr. Jameson comments at the close of his preface: "It has been a gratification, though a sad one, to have any part in completing Miss Davenport's work, a monument of scholarship, which, it is hoped, will long keep alive the memory of a woman of remarkable learning, studious, patient, courageous, and devoted to high ideals."

Yale University. SAMUEL FLAGG BEMIS.

A History of the Vice-Presidency of the United States. By Louis Clinton Hatch, Ph.D. Revised and Edited by Professor Earl L. Shoup, Department of Political Science, Western Reserve University. (New York, The American Historical Society, 1934, pp. viii, 437, $3.50.) For several years prior to his death (1931) Dr. Louis C. Hatch was actively engaged in the preparation of this treatise on the vice presidency. He did not, however, live to complete the task, and his unfinished manuscript passed into the hands of Professor Shoup, who has edited and revised it. More specifically, the editor has supplied the chapter headings, footnotes, numerous missing paragraphs in what had been fragmentary chapters, the entire concluding chapter, and an index. He has sought, he informs the reader (p. v), "to fulfill the plan of work as conceived by the author, not to modify or elaborate". In accordance with that plan the subject matter of the volume is divided into two parts: the first, entitled "Various Aspects of the Office of Vice-President", deals with the origins and functions of that office; the second, "Vice-Presidential Nominations and Elections", is an extended exposition of the rôle of the vice presidency in each presidential election since the adoption of the Federal Constitution.

The volume has definitely superior merits. By its orderly and detailed presentation of the historical circumstances surrounding the creation of the vice presidency, the relationship of that office to political parties as well as to the presidency and the Senate, and the many factors which have contributed to the election or rejection of vice presidential aspirants it fills a considerable gap. The book should serve as an excellent supplement to Stanwood's *A History of the Presidency,* and be especially useful to students of American political history who have ready access to few of the extensive

and widely scattered materials upon which *A History of the Vice-Presidency* is based. Throughout, the authors have displayed a spirit of restraint and fairness in their evaluation of individuals. Furthermore, while allowing due weight to the criticism of what John Adams characterized as "the most insignificant office that ever the invention of man contrived or his imagination conceived", Dr. Hatch and Professor Shoup have pointed out invaluable services which the vice presidency has rendered, and have suggested the possibility of its increased usefulness through vice presidential participation in the activities of the Cabinet.

Perhaps two criticisms of the volume should be suggested here. Its value to students would, in the opinion of this reviewer, have been enhanced if a critical bibliography and a greater number of precise citations had been supplied. A somewhat confusing feature of the book is the inclusion, within quoted excerpts, of numerous parenthetical statements, the authorship of which is not readily apparent to the reader. But these defects may be regarded as comparatively slight blemishes on what is the most comprehensive study of the vice presidency published to date.

New York University. RAY W. IRWIN.

An American Bookshelf, 1755. By Lawrence C. Wroth, Librarian, The John Carter Brown Library, Rosenbach Fellow in Bibliography. [Publications of the Rosenbach Fellowship in Bibliography, III.] (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1934, pp. ix, 191, $2.50.) In these three lectures, delivered on the Rosenbach Foundation at the University of Pennsylvania in 1933, the historian of the mid-eighteenth century in America will find not merely a skillful display of bibliographical technique, leading to the solution of several difficult questions of provenience; but what is rarer in bibliographical scholarship, a sense of books as history, and of history mirrored in the contemporary book trade. Mr. Wroth has asked—and answered—an interesting question: "whether familiarity with the books that came currently to the desk of an educated American of the period might not give us a clearer understanding of our forefathers and of the ideas that occupied them". For his purpose he has created an imaginary provincial, Mr. James Loveday, merchant of Philadelphia, and has examined his bookshelves for those items which he might have secured from the colonial presses or from Philadelphia booksellers in 1755 and in the earlier and later years of that eventful decade. Excluding *belles-lettres* as a less significant reflection of American interests, Wroth has ranged widely through the "objective writings" of the time to discover "the social questions that occupied the mind of the colonial American of 1755": such questions as provincial politics and the larger engrossing issue of French "encirclement"; projects of colonial union, and early theories of the relationship of colonies and

mother country; Indian affairs, exploration, western colonies, land and trade; religious and ecclesiastical controversies; education and science; the beginnings of American historical writing in Prince, Douglass, and Colden. He has succeeded in turning up documents which historians in these fields have overlooked, notably *An Essay on the Government of the Colonies* (New York, J. Parker, 1752), which he attributes on excellent grounds to Archibald Kennedy, and thinks may well have influenced Richard Bland. The lectures throughout are highly suggestive; they are, moreover, admirably written. There are numerous notes, and ten appendixes which are models of bibliographical description and criticism. Special value attaches to Appendix I, "The Archibald Kennedy Tracts".

The University of Michigan. V. W. CRANE.

The Valley of the Delaware and its Place in American History. By John Palmer Garber. (Philadelphia, John C. Winston Company, 1934, pp. x, 418, $3.50.) The purpose of the author of the book under review has been to show the primacy that the Delaware River valley, with Philadelphia as its center, once enjoyed in the economic, social, political, and intellectual life of our country. In assembling pertinent facts from various works, and in telling a story which, in spite of the variety of matters treated, presents a fairly compact and logical account, Dr. Garber has rendered a distinct service to the general reader. To the professional historian and particularly to the specialist familiar with the history of the middle colonies and of the early national period, the book will have a lesser appeal, although for them also certain chapters, as for example those dealing with education, science, literature, and art, will undoubtedly present interesting and important detailed information.

The one general criticism the reviewer would make of the book is that its author tries to prove too much. To make the assertion that "the best years of Washington's mature life were spent in it [the Delaware valley]" stresses inordinately the accident of geography. By the same token Chicago should be considered great because more Presidents of the United States have been nominated there than in any other city. It is patent that Philadelphia would not have become the cradle of a new nation had not the people of Virginia and Massachusetts led the radical movement for separation from the British empire. The population of the Delaware valley was too conservative to initiate an attack which eventuated in the collapse of the British constitution in the thirteen colonies.

Dr. Garber's book consists of fourteen chapters. Having effectively described the physical features of the Delaware valley in the first chapter, the author proceeds in the second to tell of the native Indians, their economic life, their social and religious customs, and their relations with William

Penn and succeeding proprietors. The next five chapters treat of the coming into the valley of the Dutch, Swedes, Quakers and other English immigrants, Germans, Scotch-Irish, and French. The eighth chapter deals with industry and transportation and the ninth with government. The subject of education is discussed in chapters ten and eleven, and the subjects of science, literature, and art in chapter twelve. In chapter thirteen the author treats of religion, and in the concluding chapter he gives an interesting description of living conditions and practices among the white inhabitants of the valley, paying particular attention to their domestic life, amusements, and superstitions, to modes of travel and trade, and to laws and forms of punishments.

The value of the book is considerably enhanced by fifty-eight illustrations and an eighteen-page index.

The University of Delaware. GEORGE H. RYDEN.

The Settlement of the United Empire Loyalists on the Upper St. Lawrence and Bay of Quinte in 1784. A documentary record transcribed and edited by Brigadier General E. A. Cruikshank, LL.D. (Toronto, Ontario Historical Society, 1934, pp. xiv, 188, $2.00.) These documents—letters, instructions, journals of explorers, enumerations of provincial troops and refugee Loyalists, and estimates of the quantities of land for the settlement of over fifty-six hundred people—have been gathered from many volumes of the Haldimand Collection in the Dominion archives, at Ottawa, and are divided into two groups. The first relates to exploration and survey and the second deals with settlement. The regions explored were the ungranted lands on the north shore of Lake Ontario eastward from the Niagara River, those on the north side of the upper St. Lawrence from Cataraqui (Kingston) down, and those on the Ottawa, Rideau, and Gananoqui rivers. Certain documents refer to the purchase of lands on the Grand River, in the peninsula between the head of Lake Ontario and the foot of Lake Erie, for the settlement of Joseph Brant, his Mohawks, and the Six Nations, and show that the Lower Mohawks under Chief John and other chiefs chose to locate at the Bay of Quinte, along with some Loyalists and disbanded troops.

Governor-General Haldimand supervised the extensive operations of the exploring and surveying parties and the movements of the bodies of settlers to their respective concessions with keen interest and untiring devotion. He entrusted the planning of townships and the distribution of lands in the upper part of the Province of Quebec to Sir John Johnson, who was assisted by Surveyor-General Samuel Holland, Deputy Surveyor-General John Collins, and selected military officers. After the settlers arrived on their allotments, tools were apportioned among them, as also potatoes, wheat, Indian corn, etc., for seed, enough guns to kill small game for their mess, books of royal instructions governing the parceling of the land, and the oaths were

administered. This work was in progress from May, 1783, to mid-November, 1784, and was inevitably accompanied by some complaints about becoming tenants on the thirteen new royal townships or seigneuries, the proposed progressive reduction of provisions in 1785 and 1786, the lack of clothing and blankets, the slowness in providing tools, and by urgent requests to permit old and sick persons to remain behind until their relatives could erect huts to shelter them, and to bring in cattle from home farms beyond the St. Lawrence. Haldimand tried to counteract the efforts of a few determined Loyalists who circulated agreements among the exiled Americans in their various cantonments to settle at Mississiquoi Bay or Lake Memphremagog, on the northern frontier of New England, rather than on the royal townships. Despite the fact that such conduct spurned the king's bounty and rendered possible what Haldimand regarded as a dangerous intercouse with that rebellious region, a few families took up land in the forbidden localities.

One regrets that this admirable collection of documents should not have included certain other Haldimand papers which pertain to the subject. The book is well annotated and indexed.

The Ohio State University. WILBUR H. SIEBERT.

The Transition from Aristocracy to Democracy in New Jersey, 1789–1829. By Walter R. Fee. (Somerville, Somerset Press, 1933, pp. ix, 291, $3.00.) A less imaginative title for this study would be "A History of the Federalist Party in New Jersey". The leading issues in state politics in this era, we are informed, were national rather than state in character. Such a broad outlook in a state history is refreshing, but one wonders if a few local issues did not intrude. Almost none are mentioned.

The party of "the virtuous few" won the first congressional election. Discontent with their rule accumulated gradually. In 1793 there was a mild protest against century-old regulations limiting the vote to those who possessed a free estate worth at least £50 and restricting legislative office to those worth at least £500. Essex County, originally colonized by restless New Englanders, had made genuine progress before the Revolution in circumventing these restrictions. Newark, in that county, became in 1794 the birthplace of the state's first Republican Society. The members began by criticizing the whisky excise, and then the Jay Treaty. In 1797, they alarmed the Federalists by really organizing a party. The democratic tide rose slowly in New Jersey, however. Two years later the assembly was the only one in the North to refuse approval of both the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions. The Federalists were not finally defeated until the election of 1801.

The Republicans waved the stuffed shirt of Federalism at every election for the next twenty years. The "talented few" regained office only once, in 1812, when their platform was peace. Their short incumbency demonstrated

that they were more interested in power. Thereafter the party organization became inactive although the membership in the legislature remained surprisingly large (12 out of 39 in 1820). In 1824 the remnants of the aristocratic party supported the popular military hero, Jackson, for the presidency. By 1828 the term Federalist had lost all meaning.

This monograph bears the earmarks of conscientious research, although the author has apparently not felt the need of consulting more than the copious supply of sources found close at hand. He has used good judgment in his choice of illustrative material but one wishes he had been more generous with his conclusions. His unfortunate penchant for inverted sentences occasionally encumbers an otherwise fairly easy style. There are but few errors of fact to mar the book. Salem, rather than Cape May, is New Jersey's Swedish county (p. 8); and Maine was not a state until long after 1799 (p. 88). On the whole, it is a small but welcome contribution to our knowledge of the period.

Lehigh University. DONALD L. KEMMERER.

The Sentimental Years, 1836–1860. By E. Douglas Branch. (New York, D. Appleton-Century Company, 1934, pp. xiii, 432, $4.00.) The author of this attractively made volume describes his book as "a social discussion of the first generation of the American middle class". He does not define "middle class", but declares that about 1835 it became the dominant element, cultural and economic, in American life. He bases his work upon "the generation's own printed record", and after wide reading in these copious annals, comes to the conclusion that a certain continuity is discernible in the midst of the diversity. He labels this continuity Sentimentalism, and defines it as "the refusal to recognize reality; or the inability to pass judgment upon it; and the clinging to the myth".

This sentimental generation, "beginning and ending", we are told, "in a conflagration" (the New York fire of December, 1835, and the Civil War), is put briskly through its paces in thirteen kaleidoscopic chapters—chapters bright with an infinite variety of facts and with many inadvertent fictions. Catharine Sedgwick, the novelist, for example, was never "a principal of a famous school for girls"; Wigglesworth's *Day of Doom*—fifteen hundred lines long—must very infrequently have been memorized by "the children of colonial New England along with their catechisms"; Emma Willard did not divorce her husband because he escorted the decorous Sarah Josepha Hale to a commencement exercise at Harvard College. Jaunty chapter headings and over eighty illustrations suggest the tolerant amusement with which the writer views the industry, the literature, the art, the reforms, the religion, and the politics of this earlier America. But beneath such headings as "This Fine Busy World", "Garlands and Chain", "The Pure Sciences and Some Others",

much excellent material and a substantial body of information are interestingly brought together.

It goes without saying that an equally substantial body of information concerning the same years finds no place in the volume. One book cannot tell everything, and a writer is justified in limiting his material. One questions, however, generalizations apparently based only upon the outward appearance of an era. A photograph of a stranger arrayed in unbecoming and outmoded garments is apt to seem amusing to all of us. It is hard to believe that the odd-looking individual may have been quite as ready as we are to "recognize reality", and to "pass judgment upon it"; that he, like us, may even have wondered what reality really is. Yet the author of *The Sentimental Years* concludes, on the last page of his volume, that the generation whose photograph he has examined was characterized by a firm determination to avoid reality and to enjoy "salvation without pangs". This conclusion does not seem to emerge logically from the varied and well-filled chapters. Perhaps there are a priori assumptions here.

Picturesque details, interesting personalities, bits of gossip, odd facts, social and political experiments, surface peculiarities, all these things are entertaining in and for themselves to readers who like to know what was going on in America from 1836 to 1860. Information, as such, has a value. Need it necessarily be significant of something, or made to point a moral?

Wellesley College. B. M. Stearns.

Disloyalty in the Confederacy. By Georgia Lee Tatum, Ph.D. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1934, pp. xi, 176, $2.50.) It would seem that the subject and title of this study should have been chosen with more precision. Obviously, the author regards an investigation of disloyalty in the Confederacy as extending to the soldiers and thus including desertion, though she merely skims the surface of the latter subject. Since desertion has already received extensive treatment in a general work and in a particularized study for Alabama, this work might perhaps have been restricted to the civilian population. If, as would appear to be the case, Miss Tatum meant to make a study of the disloyal peace organizations, her title might better have indicated that fact.

While the reviewer agrees heartily with the author that Tennessee should be included in the study, she is surprised that Louisiana was excluded. It is true that New Orleans came early under Union control, but part of Louisiana remained in Confederate hands until the surrender. Disloyalty was certainly a serious factor there. James Madison Wells and Dr. Dostie were troublesome Unionists—to cite but two examples.

Miss Tatum has based her work largely upon the *Confederate War Records,* which she has searched faithfully, but a number of secondary works

not consulted would have yielded valuable material, such as Kaufmann's *Die Deutschen im amerikanischen Bürgerkrieg* and Miss Martin's *Desertion in Alabama.* One is forced to wonder why the author took some materials secondhand. Why, for instance, cite the *Official War Records* for the conscription law and the *North Carolina Standard* through a secondary authority? Also it is not clear why such timidity should be manifested in regard to drawing conclusions on the ground of "complexities and powerful emotional connotations", provided due care is exercised against too easy assumptions. A more careful organization would have included the data on signs of recognition for the peace society in Mississippi with similar data in chapter II. As a whole, the author has done a promising piece of research; it is well organized in the main and clearly written.

Goucher College. ELLA LONN.

The United States and the Caribbean Area. By Dana G. Munro, Professor of Latin American History and Affairs, Princeton University. (Boston, World Peace Foundation, 1934, pp. viii, 322, $2.00.) This volume is a compact and readable survey of the relations of the United States with the Caribbean countries during the present century. It is based almost entirely upon such information as the Department of State has seen fit to publish and on material from a few American authorities on those countries. Very little use has been made of sources emanating from the Caribbean countries. An examination of the footnotes shows that about sixty per cent of the references are to published material of the Department of State, while only five per cent are to sources from the other countries. For example, in the case of the chapter on Nicaragua, it is found that of 59 references 44 are to publications of the State Department (*The United States and Nicaragua,* 36, *Foreign Relations,* 5, and releases, 3), six from three Nicaraguan sources, and nine from various other American sources. The six chapters of the work, with headings indicative of some one important phase of the relationship in each case, deal with Cuba, Panama, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, Central America, and Nicaragua. The texts of the treaties of the United States with Panama, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, and Nicaragua are given in the appendix.

Professor Munro, long a student of the Caribbean area, was for many years active in the conduct of the diplomatic relations with that region, having served as chief of the Latin American Division of the Department of State, as chargé d'affaires in Panama and Nicaragua, and as minister to Haiti. He has written no preface to his volume. An explanation of its character however is given in the statement that, "It is very difficult to discuss authoritatively the events of the past fifteen years in Cuba, because little of the official correspondence has been published and such accounts as exist are

based on inadequate source material, in so far as they deal with the policy of the United States Government" (p. 47, n.). Thus it is that the chapter on Nicaragua follows closely the pamphlet issued by the State Department, under the title of *The United States and Nicaragua.* In this chapter the author adds nothing to Cox's *Nicaragua and the United States,* for the period covered by this work. Also in discussing the relations with Cuba he relies largely on Chapman's excellent *History of the Cuban Republic.*

In spite of Professor Munro's intimate knowledge of the subject, his publishers state that he has essayed "nothing approaching a defense of action or attitude on either side". It is to be hoped that the author will use his extensive information on the Caribbean area to give either an explicit and documented defense or a well-directed and analytical criticism of the policy of the United States toward its smaller neighbors immediately to the southward.

The Library of Congress. ROSCOE R. HILL.

The Federal Reserve Act: its Origin and Problems. By J. Laurence Laughlin, late Emeritus Professor of Political Economy, University of Chicago. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1933, pp. xii, 400, $3.50.) This book is divided into two parts with the addition of useful briefs from related matter in the appendixes. The first part consists of the political and economic story or background leading to the Federal Reserve Act as Professor Laughlin sees it or rather that part of the background with which his personal experiences brought him in contact. He stresses particularly the educational promotion work of the National Citizens League, and the part that he and co-workers played in preparing public opinion for the banking reforms to be undertaken. Dr. Laughlin makes it clear that there are many omissions but believes he has marshaled the important events including the most noteworthy proposals for banking legislation.

The Glass Bill of 1912 stands out as the leading bill. Other proposals by statesmen and bankers designed to defeat or modify the Glass Bill are presented, together with the incidental political intrigue and trickery, making up a very interesting story of the proposals and difficulties involved in bringing the Federal Reserve Act into existence. Many interesting sidelights are told of which the political maneuver of Colonel House and New York bankers (p. 186) is a sample. Another typical story is the management by President Wilson of Mr. Bryan, the high priest of cheap money, and the President's understanding of sound money and the shrewdness with which he maintained it against foes throughout the War (pp. 187–188).

Part II sets forth the problems of the Federal Reserve Act in operation as Dr. Laughlin sees them. He points out for instance the differences in banking usage, political factors in management, the dangers from political con-

trol, and possible ways of overcoming political difficulties together with many fallacies about the relationship of money and prices, managed currency, and inflation. After reviewing the credit problems of the Federal Reserve Act leading to the present depression, the author makes an analysis of the Federal Reserve policy during the depression and recommendations for a permanent policy of the Federal Reserve system. He makes it clear that debt is the fundamental problem in the present depression, that goods are buying power, and that the remedy for the depression does not lie in money and credit.

The book is a useful addition to the literature on the Federal Reserve Act and system in operation. One cannot read this book through without coming to the conclusion that if this book represents the whole story—and it certainly does represent an important part—a sound money, credit, and banking system in this country demand the removal of the system and its modifications from political influences.

The University of Illinois. IVAN WRIGHT.

The Federal Railway Land Subsidy Policy of Canada. By James B. Hedges, Professor of History, Brown University. [Harvard Historical Monographs.] (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1934, pp. viii, 151, $1.25.) The field of land policy in Canada has been singularly barren in authoritative published studies and this volume fills an important gap. Professor Hedges traces the shift in Canadian policy in the seventies from block grants to the alternate section principle worked out in the United States and finally adopted in the agreement of the government with the Canadian Pacific Railway Company. He commends the adaptability of the Canadian system in its return to block grants in handling the irrigation areas of southern Alberta. The alternate section principle in Canada was adopted in the main with the inclusion of the "fit for settlement" qualification. The railways were ensured grants of land "fit for settlement" and were consequently enabled to secure land in territory beyond reserved belts adjacent to the line. In the construction of short stretches of railway particularly, land in Alberta and Saskatchewan was allocated to pay for railways built in Manitoba. Reserves set aside for land to be selected by the Canadian Pacific railway on the basis of "fit for settlement" led the company to encourage settlement along its own line for the development of traffic and to discourage settlement on lands owned by it which might be served by other railways. These lands gained in value as a result of the energetic settlement policies of other organizations. The advantages of colonization by railways rather than colonization by companies were offset in part by the disadvantages of placing land under control of groups interested in speculation rather than in traffic. The wisdom of a policy of "fit for settlement" rests on the financial

necessity of the railways. The peculiarities of the Canadian system are a result of the financial problem of the Dominion in building a transcontinental railway and the necessity of placing greater emphasis on land as a basis of financial support. Professor Hedges has made a valuable contribution in outlining a further difference in the economic structure of Canada and the United States incidental to the fundamental differences in geographic background. The volume has a short bibliography and an index but unfortunately no maps.

The University of Toronto. H. A. Innis.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY FOR 1934

The office of the Executive Secretary has been maintained through the current calendar year on a considerably reduced budget. In place of the $12,000 available for the purpose during the calendar year 1933, only a little over $4000 was available for the purpose in 1934. Of this, $3500 came by grant from the Carnegie Corporation, and $539.10 came from an unexpended balance from the 1933 grant, which was applied with the approval of Dr. Keppel of the Carnegie Corporation to the expenses of 1934. An arrangement with Mr. Read on a part-time basis was, however, possible, so that the work of the office could go forward. A detailed statement of operations including salaries, rent, supplies, and other expenditures, is to be found in the Treasurer's report.

Where the lack of funds has been most severely felt is in connection with the activities of committees. Money has not been available to finance any meeting of any committee other than the Executive Committee. This must be regarded as very unfortunate, particularly as regards the Membership Committee and the Nominating Committee. It is to be greatly regretted also that for the same reason regular meetings cannot be arranged for the Board of Editors of the *Review*. Fortunately the three important publication committees, the Beveridge Committee, the Littleton-Griswold Committee, and the Revolving Fund Committee, have resources of their own sufficient to finance such meetings as they find it necessary to hold. But certainly our committees suffer greatly in their effectiveness by reason of their inability to meet.

The activities of the Executive Secretary's office during the year have been under the steady oversight of the Executive Committee. It will be convenient, therefore, to present the activities of the Executive Committee and those of the Executive Secretary as one composite picture.

The Executive Committee held five meetings during the year: one in January, two in February, one in May, and one in October. The frequency of meeting during the first two months of the year was occasioned by pressing problems connected with the winding up of the affairs of the Commission on the Social Studies. Attendance averaged four. All meetings were held at Columbia University in New York, generally on Sunday, and generally lasting all day.

It will be convenient to consider topically the instructions issued by the Executive Committee and the execution of these instructions by the Executive Secretary.

COMMISSION ON THE SOCIAL STUDIES. It will be recalled that the term of the Commission on the Social Studies, appointed for five years, expired on December 29, 1933. Its work was not finished. Provision for terminating its labors was made in a resolution proposed by Charles A. Beard and adopted at the meeting of the Council of the Association held at Urbana, Illinois, December 28, 1933, as follows:

Whereas, the term of the Commission on the Social Studies expires on December 29, 1933,

Be it resolved that (1) the Executive Secretary convey to the members of the Commission, and especially to the Chairman, A. C. Krey, the appreciation of the American Historical Association for their unselfish and indefatigable labors, and to the Carnegie Corporation the renewed thanks of the Association for its generous financial support; (2) the unexpended balance, after settlement of outstanding accounts, is hereby appropriated to the uses of the *Historical Outlook* as reorganized under the auspices of the American Historical Association for the advancement of the social studies in the schools in case the consent of the Carnegie Corporation is secured for this appropriation; (3) the Executive Committee of the Council, in co-operation with Dr. A. C. Krey, Chairman of the Commission, make all arrangements for winding up the affairs of the Commission, including the publication of reports and the selection of an editor if deemed desirable; (4) in the matter of the controversy over the final report, the Executive Committee of the Council of the American Historical Association shall act as a reviewing body, hold one or more meetings of the Commission if deemed necessary, secure from members or groups of members within sixty days affirmative and dissenting opinions, hear all parties, and publish the set of opinions seriatim without alteration within ninety days; (5) for the work of the Executive Committee of the A. H. A. in winding up the affairs of the Commission the sum of $5000 is hereby appropriated.

Upon motion this resolution passed unanimously.

At a meeting of the Executive Committee on January 6, 1934, Dr. Krey was appointed a committee of the American Historical Association to procure for the Executive Committee of the American Historical Association the final report of the Commission on the Social Studies, to be delivered not later than March 1, 1934. Further action by the Executive Committee on this matter was deferred until Dr. Krey's report on this matter should be received.

Other action upon the same subject was taken by the Executive Committee at its meeting on February 9, 1934, recorded in the minutes of the Committee as follows:

. . . The Executive Secretary . . . reported that he had distributed [to the members of the late Commission on the Social Studies] copies of the resolution of the Council of the Association of December 28, 1933, setting forth the plans of the Association for the termination of the work of the

Commission and the publication of its final report. Mr. Krey, who was present . . . was particularly anxious that no further action should be taken until the matter could be laid before a meeting of those gentlemen who had previously constituted the Executive Committee of the Commission, and he called attention to the fact that a meeting of that Executive Committee had been called in Chicago for February 22nd. Upon motion the following resolutions were passed:

(1) The Executive Secretary was instructed to honor vouchers covering travel expenses to the meeting to be held on February 22, 1934, in Chicago, which was to include those gentlemen who had formerly constituted the Executive Committee of the Commission, as well as Mr. George Counts and, at the discretion of Mr. Krey, Mr. Carlton J. H. Hayes.

(2) It was moved that Mr. Krey should secure from this group a definite expression of opinion about the draft final report of the Commission as revised by Mr. Counts and his associates, and should report to the Executive Committee of the Association at a special meeting to be held for the purpose at Fayerweather Hall, Columbia University, on Saturday, February 24th, at 11 A. M.

In consequence of this action a special meeting of the Executive Committee was called for February 24 to consider the action taken with regard to the final report of the Commission at the meeting at Chicago. Mr. Krey and Mr. Hayes reported that the gentlemen at Chicago had reviewed carefully the manuscript of the final report and had recommended certain changes, which changes had been accepted. The manuscript so revised Mr. Krey handed to the Executive Secretary. He was thereupon instructed to proceed as follows:

The version of the final report as corrected at Chicago should be turned over to the Executive Secretary, who should make an exact copy of it and send the original copy at once to the publishers to be set up in galley proof. . . .

It was further provided upon motion that as soon as galley proof was ready, it should be sent by registered mail to every member of the Commission,—accompanied by appropriate explanatory letters from Dr. Krey and the Executive Secretary.

Upon motion the warm thanks of the Executive Committee of the A. H. A. were expressed to Mr. Krey, Mr. Hayes, and Mr. Counts for their services in assisting the conference at Chicago to what was regarded as a satisfactory solution of a very difficult situation. . . .

The Executive Secretary sent galley proof of the final report by registered mail to all members of the Commission on March 15 with the request that each member would either sign the report or indicate that he did not wish to sign. Every member who did not wish to sign was invited to prepare a dissenting opinion, or if he signed with reservations to formulate his reservations, so that all dissenting opinions and all reservations might be printed with the final report. Twelve of the sixteen members of the Commission subsequently signed the final report without reservations. Mr. Bowman signed with reservations. Mr. Ballou, Mr. Day, Mr. Horn, and Mr. Merriam declined to sign.

Only one dissenting opinion was offered and it was withdrawn before publication. The final report, under the title *Conclusions and Recommendations of the Commission on the Social Studies in the Schools,* with an appendix setting forth Mr. Bowman's reservations, was finally published late in May.

With that difficult business out of the way the Executive Secretary proceeded to deal with manuscripts which the Commission had decided to publish but which still remained unpublished. These were as follows: *Tests and Measurements in the Social Sciences,* by Truman L. Kelley and A. C. Krey; *The Social Foundations of Education,* by George S. Counts and Charles A. Beard; *Educational Administration as Social Policy,* by Jesse H. Newlon; *A Social Process Approach to Curriculum-making in the Social Studies,* by Leon C. Marshall; *The Social Studies as School Subjects,* by Rolla M. Tryon; *Freedom of Teaching in the Schools,* by Howard K. Beale; *Methods of Instruction in the Social Sciences,* by Ernest Horn; *The Selection and Training of the Teacher,* by William C. Bagley, Guy Stanton Ford, *et al.; The Social Ideas of American Educators,* by Merle E. Curti. Of these, the volumes by Newlon, Counts, Kelley-Krey, and Curti have since appeared. Tryon's manuscript is in the printers' hands ready for publication, and Beale's is almost ready. Bagley, Horn, and Marshall have not yet submitted their manuscripts, though they are known to be well advanced.

It need hardly be pointed out that all this business has consumed a large part of the Executive Secretary's office time. It has also necessitated additional secretarial assistance. The Council of the Association, at its meeting on December 2, 1934, authorized the Executive Secretary to employ the part-time services of an editorial assistant at $10 a week until the affairs of the Commission were wound up, the expense to be defrayed out of balances standing to the credit of the Commission on the Social Studies.

The Social Studies. Provision was made last year for the taking over of control of *The Historical Outlook* by the Association and certain funds credited to the Commission on the Social Studies were definitely allocated to that purpose. The Executive Committee thereupon proceeded to nominate a Board of Editors for the magazine and their appointments were approved by the Council at its meeting at Urbana in December, 1933. The activities of the Managing Editor and of the Board of Editors are set forth in the report of the Board to the Council which is on file among the committee reports of the Association. The editorial policy of the new board has been formulated by Charles A. Beard and is printed in *The Social Studies* for January, 1934.

It need only be pointed out here that the Board of Editors has approved the creation of a Board of Advisory Editors, one third of which shall be changed each year. The Advisory Board is drawn largely from secondary school teachers and is selected with reference to wide geographical distribution. The Board has changed the name of *The Historical Outlook* to

The Social Studies. It has also changed the format. A budget for operations contemplates a total expenditure of $10,000 a year. In this connection the consent of the Carnegie Corporation has been secured to apply all unexpended balances standing to the credit of the Commission on the Social Studies, after the affairs of the Commission have been finally wound up, to the support of the magazine. The Executive Secretary acts as secretary of the Board of Editors and is one of three members of the Executive Committee of that Board.

Commission on History, College Entrance Examination Board. The Executive Secretary was invited in the spring to be chairman of a commission of twelve to consider the College Entrance Board examinations in history and to make recommendations. With the consent of the Executive Committee the Executive Secretary accepted the appointment. Other members of the commission are: William L. Langer (Harvard), James P. Baxter, 3d (Harvard), Wallace Notestein (Yale), Carlton J. H. Hayes (Columbia), C. Mildred Thompson (Vassar), Tyler Kepner (Brookline High School, Boston), Claude M. Fuess (Phillips Academy, Andover), George Van Santvoord (Hotchkiss School), Harold W. Dodds (Princeton), Edmund E. Day (Rockefeller Foundation), Edward P. Smith (New York State Department of Education), Mrs. Evelyn P. Braun, secretary.

Two meetings of the Commission have been held. It has defined its first problem in terms of suggesting a curriculum for the study of history in the secondary schools. It has defined history to include all the so-called social studies. It has, therefore, assumed responsibility for the problem which the Association long ago assumed to be part of its business in the so-called Committee of Seven. The Executive Secretary is carrying on an extensive correspondence with universities, colleges, and secondary schools, and is holding interviews with many educators. The expenses attached to this business are assumed by the College Entrance Examination Board. Probably the commission will be busy during most of the coming year. Its report will presumably be printed. The enterprise should perhaps be considered as a natural outcome of the work of the Commission on the Social Studies.

Radio Committee. Something over a year ago the Executive Committee, at the request of the National Advisory Council on Radio in Education, appointed a Radio Committee of the Association with the Executive Secretary as chairman. Other members of the Committee as reconstituted in December, 1934, are as follows: Evelyn P. Braun, 125 Bleddyn Road, Ardmore, Pennsylvania; John A. Krout, Columbia University; Ralph S. Rounds, 165 Broadway, New York City; William Slater, Adelphi Academy, New York; Elizabeth Y. Webb, Vassar College, New York. This Committee undertook to discover and formulate the principles which should control broadcasting of historical information. It went so far as to plan for a definite broadcasting program and had reason to believe that enough money

would be forthcoming from private sources to launch such a program. It even secured the services of a well-known broadcaster free of charge and time upon the air free of charge from the Columbia Broadcasting System. Unfortunately, however, it could not finance what was felt to be an essential part of a successful broadcasting venture: adequate mail service and follow-up service. In consequence, while not abandoning its purpose, it has confined itself to a concrete statement of its findings. These have been formulated by Miss Webb, assisted by a small grant of money for the purpose, donated by the Keith Fund. Miss Webb's report is now in print, and copies of it were distributed at the annual meeting of the Association. In the opinion of the Executive Secretary the ideas set forth in the report are of considerable importance and constitute a valuable contribution to the problem of educational broadcasting, particularly as related to the larger problem of adult education.

Regional Union Catalogues. The desirability of developing regional catalogues in order to make easily accessible book collections in large metropolitan areas has been endorsed by the Association, and the Council has already approved of the efforts of the Executive Secretary, inaugurated last year, to establish a union catalogue of libraries in the Philadelphia metropolitan area. A local committee under the chairmanship of C. W. David, of Bryn Mawr, was organized over a year ago, and a concrete plan of operation outlined. This plan has been approved by the Joint Committee on Materials for Research of the Social Science Research Council and the American Council of Learned Societies. It has also been approved by virtually every important library in the Philadelphia area. It has been passed upon favorably by Ernest Kletsch, director of the Union Catalogue of the Library of Congress. It involves, however, a large initial expenditure of money for the preparation of the catalogue (perhaps $50,000) and a continuing grant of perhaps $7500 per annum for its maintenance. Attempts have been made to finance the project locally without success, and the foundations have been appealed to for assistance. The financial problem is still unsolved, but the committee means to carry on until a solution can be found. Formally and officially this committee is not organized under the Association, but the Executive Secretary, at the direction of the Executive Committee, is devoting some part of his time to the promotion of its purposes.

National Archivist. The Executive Committee has directed a good deal of attention during the current year to the problem presented by the proposed organization of the National Archives. The problem involved (a) the passage of satisfactory legislation to provide for the organization of the national archives; (b) the appointment of a well-qualified national archivist. In connection with the first of these matters it was fortunate that Dr. Jameson as a member of the Interdepartmental Committee of the Government had al-

ready done much preliminary work upon plans for the necessary legislation. The bill, as finally adopted, emanated only in part from this committee, but must be regarded as on the whole quite satisfactory. In the other matter of securing the appointment of a well-qualified national archivist, W. E. Dodd, the president of the Association, conferred with President Roosevelt in the spring and as a result of that conference invited the Executive Committee of the Association to suggest a suitable candidate for the office of National Archivist. In consequence the Executive Committee unanimously recommended R. D. W. Connor of the University of North Carolina. President Roosevelt early in October appointed Mr. Connor Archivist of the United States. The Association has every reason to congratulate itself on the outcome. It ought to be added that Mr. Connor had nothing whatever to do with his own selection for the position and was indeed very reluctant to be a candidate. The thanks of the Association are due to President Graham of the University of North Carolina for his public-spirited co-operation in a course which imposed great embarrassment and inconvenience upon the University of North Carolina.

Government Publications for the Association. Another problem which engaged much of the attention of the Executive Committee was that of securing a restoration of the Federal appropriation for the printing of publications of the Association. Appropriations for this purpose had been omitted from the appropriation acts for the fiscal years ending on June 30, 1934, and on June 30, 1935. In consequence the Association had to abandon all of its government publications, including *Proceedings,* documentary collections, and, most serious of all, *Writings on American History*. It was mainly due to the efforts of Mr. Dodd that L. W. Douglas, then director of the Budget, was induced to insert in the Second Deficiency Bill, passed about June 15 last, a sufficient allowance to provide for the printing of two volumes of *Writings*. The thanks of the Association are also due to J. F. Jameson and to L. F. Stock for their valiant efforts in this cause. There is good hope that some part of the government appropriation for our publications will be restored in 1935.

All of these projects so far described fall outside the routine work of the Executive Secretary's office. The work of the regular committees of the Association is set forth in the reports of those committees.

The arrangements made by the Program Committee and the Local Arrangements Committee in preparation for the annual meeting of the Association in Washington in December, 1934, are now past history. The reports of the Littleton-Griswold Committee and the Beveridge Fund Committee reveal that their programs of publication are progressing steadily. The generosity of Mrs. Griswold in providing additional funds to speed up the publication of materials on American legal history has enabled the

Littleton-Griswold Committee to arrange for the publication of three volumes in three successive years. The first volume, *Proceedings of the Maryland Court of Appeals, 1695–1729,* appeared in December, 1933. The second volume, *Select Cases of the Mayor's Court of New York City, 1674–1784,* is in press. The third volume, *Records of the Vice-Admiralty Court of Rhode Island,* is far advanced in preparation.

It will be recalled that the Executive Secretary undertook to dispense with the services of a publisher in publishing the first volume printed by the Littleton-Griswold Committee. Advertising and distribution were accordingly handled by the Executive Secretary's office. The net result has been (to January 24, 1935): the sale of 149 copies, the distribution of twenty-one complimentary copies and eighteen review copies. Gross receipts have amounted to $1,065.90, with total expense for advertising, distribution, etc. (exclusive of carriage charges), of $118.66, with no charge for overhead in the Executive Secretary's office. The success of this experiment can hardly be appraised as yet because further sales may be expected in consequence of the favorable reviews of the book now being printed.

The Beveridge Fund Committee has suffered a severe loss in the death of its chairman, Ulrich B. Phillips, but its new chairman, Roy F. Nichols, is advancing his work steadily. Two volumes in this series have so far appeared: D. L. Dumond, *Southern Editorials on Secession,* and G. H. Barnes and D. L. Dumond, *Correspondence of Theodore D. Weld, Angelina Grimké Weld, and Sarah Grimké.* Other volumes are in preparation, as follows: J. H. Easterby, *The Papers of R. F. W. Allston, a Rice Planter and Politician of South Carolina;* H. C. Perkins, *Northern Editorials on Secession and War, 1861;* L. W. Labaree, *Instructions to the Governors of Royal Colonies in America;* S. M. Pargellis, *Letters relating to America about 1760 from the Duke of Cumberland's Papers in Windsor Castle;* W. C. Binkley, *Correspondence of the Governments of Texas, 1835–1836;* Frank Monaghan, *Correspondence of John Jay.* During the past year the Committee has voted to sponsor a project by L. M. Case: *French Opinion on the United States and Mexico, 1861–1867: Extracts from the Reports of the Procureurs Généraux.*

The Carnegie Revolving Fund is rapidly being exhausted. Its Committee has so far published fifteen volumes. It has the sixteenth volume in press and seven manuscripts under consideration. Of these seven, certainly no more than four can be published out of funds still available. It can, of course, anticipate further receipts from the sale of volumes now in print and to be printed, but certainly not enough to maintain anything like its present rate of publication. No one can doubt the value of its services, and the Council should consider seriously the desirability of appealing to the foundations for another grant of the same sort. The available funds of the Association for

publication are now restricted definitely to American history. No money at all is available for the publication of meritorious works in other fields.

Committee on Americana for College Libraries. Attention is called particularly to the work of this Committee which is being performed for the most part in the Washington office of Tracy W. McGregor. It will be recalled that the project involves the establishment of small collections of rare books dealing with America in selected college libraries, the libraries to contribute $500 a year to the expenses and an anonymous benefactor to contribute an equal amount for each library participating. In the selection of participating colleges the Committee gives preference to those remote from important cultural centers, provided they can make adequate provision for the protection of rare books. So far six colleges are actively participating in the plan and a number of others have applied to be admitted. Rare books of the aggregate value of $2464.12 have been purchased.

Board of Trustees. It will be recalled that at the annual meeting of December, 1933, the constitution was so amended as to give to the Board of Trustees complete control over the permanent investments of the Association. During the current year arrangements have been completed to give effect to this amendment. The permanent investments of the Association are now in charge of the Fiduciary Trust Company of New York, acting under the constant oversight of the Board. The changes in investments effected by the Board during the current year are set forth in the published report of the Treasurer.

The American Historical Review. The *Review* has suffered a considerable diminution of revenue during the current year, due in part to loss of membership but chiefly to the falling off of advertising. In view of the diminished income of the Association it has seemed wise to the Executive Committee to suggest to the Board of Editors of the *Review* that they discontinue their practice of paying for book reviews. This policy has now been adopted by the Board of Editors, and the savings effected have been just about sufficient to compensate for the loss of revenue alluded to above.

Research Projects. The project undertaken by the Executive Secretary last year to collect, list, and print research projects in history, exclusive of doctoral dissertations, now in progress in the United States and the Dominion of Canada was completed early in the spring and was printed, without cost to the Association, as a supplement to the April, 1934, number of *The American Historical Review*. Provision has been made by the Editor of the *Review* to print in the Historical News section additions to the list.

Membership. In spite of the vigorous efforts of the Membership Committee, the membership in the Association has been declining steadily for the last three years. A comparison with the experience of other learned societies reveals the fact that the loss in membership has been proportionately

greater than that of other societies. It is highly important, if the activities of the Association are to be maintained and developed as they should be, that its membership should be very considerably increased. This is a matter in which every member could and should actively interest himself. If the Association could double its membership, it could more than double its usefulness.

FINANCES. The financial situation of the Association is revealed in the published report of the Treasurer. Owing in part to the decline in return on investments, in part to the decline in profits on the *Review*, and in large measure to the decline in membership, the Association has suffered a considerable diminution of revenue. Unless additional revenue can be secured, it is doubtful if the Executive Secretary's office can be maintained beyond the end of the present fiscal year. The Association is badly handicapped by lack of funds for other services. All of the old prize essay awards, except those supported by a special endowment, have had to be discontinued. There are almost no funds available for the meeting of even the most important committees, and hardly any even for the postal charges of committee chairmen. This situation is brought earnestly to the attention of the members of the Association.

CONYERS READ, *Executive Secretary.*

In addition to the decisions of the Council referred to in the Report of the Executive Secretary the following actions may also be mentioned. On December 2 a committee of two, Dr. A. R. Newsome and Professor F. S. Philbrick, was appointed, with power to add to their number, and was charged with the "duties of (1) considering the relationship of the American Historical Association to the whole problem of documentary publications of national, state, local, and private archives, and of making specific recommendations to the Council; (2) considering, formulating, and presenting plans for a nation-wide survey of archival material which might be made the basis for an appeal to the foundations". At the same meeting a resolution, offered by Dr. Jameson, was adopted, requesting the Archivist of the United States, Dr. R. D. W. Connor, "to take into early consideration a program for the appropriate commemoration of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the formation of the United States Constitution by documentary historical publications". To this a favorable response was made by Dr. Connor at the meeting of the Council on December 27, and, as explained on a later page, has been the subject of a meeting of the National Historical Publications Commission.

At the same meeting of the Council resolutions were adopted expressing to Secretary of State Cordell Hull the appreciation of the Association touching the important publications being carried forward by the department. In

January a reply was received in which the announcement was made that the department would probably issue during the current year a fourth volume of *Treaties and other International Acts of the United States,* Volume IV of *Territorial Papers of the United States,* containing the papers of the so-called Southwest Territory, the three "Foreign Relations" volumes for 1920, and Volume II of *Policy of the United States toward Maritime Commerce in War.*

As the report of the Treasurer of the Association, Dr. Constantine E. McGuire, is already in the hands of the members of the Association it is deemed unnecessary to mention the principal items in this place.

The Officers and Committees of the Association for 1935 are:

President, Michael I. Rostovtzeff, Yale University.

First Vice President, Charles H. McIlwain, Harvard University.

Second Vice President, Guy Stanton Ford, University of Minnesota.

Executive Secretary, Conyers Read, 226 South 16th Street, Philadelphia.

Secretary, Dexter Perkins, University of Rochester.

Treasurer, Constantine E. McGuire, 40 B St., S. W., Washington.

Assistant Secretary-Treasurer, Patty W. Washington, 40 B St., S. W., Washington.

Editor of the Annual Report, Lowell Joseph Ragatz, George Washington University.

Council: (*ex officio*) the president, vice presidents, secretary, and treasurer; (elected members) Sidney B. Fay, Bernadotte E. Schmitt, John D. Hicks, Julian P. Bretz, James F. Willard, Wallace Notestein, Dumas Malone, William L. Westermann; (former presidents) J. Franklin Jameson, Albert Bushnell Hart, Andrew C. McLaughlin, George L. Burr, Worthington C. Ford, Charles H. Haskins, Edward P. Cheyney, Charles M. Andrews, Henry Osborn Taylor, James H. Breasted, James Harvey Robinson, Evarts B. Greene, Carl Becker, Herbert E. Bolton, Charles A. Beard, William E. Dodd.

Executive Committee of the Council: William E. Lingelbach, University of Pennsylvania, chairman; Sidney B. Fay, Dixon Ryan Fox, Dumas Malone; (*ex officio*) Dexter Perkins, Constantine E. McGuire.

Board of Trustees: Conyers Read, 226 South 16th St., Philadelphia, chairman; Raymond N. Ball, Guy Emerson, Tracy W. McGregor, Thomas I. Parkinson.

Officers of the Pacific Coast Branch: President, Edward McMahon, University of Washington; *Vice President,* Percy A. Martin, Stanford University; *Secretary-Treasurer,* Carl F. Brand, Stanford University; *Executive Committee:* (the above) and Francis J. Bowman, Frank H. Garver, Charles R. Hicks, and Joseph B. Lockey; *Editors of the Pacific Historical Review:* John C. Parish, University of California at Los Angeles,

managing editor; Walter N. Sage, Ralph S. Kuykendall, Yamato Ichihashi.

Committee on Program for the Fiftieth Annual Meeting: J. Fred Rippy, Duke University, chairman; Conyers Read, others to be named.

Committee on Local Arrangements (Chattanooga, 1935): Culver H. Smith, University of Chattanooga, secretary, others to be named.

Committee on Nominations: Richard A. Newhall, Williams College, chairman; Viola Barnes, Avery O. Craven, Paul Knaplund, James G. Randall.

Board of Editors of the American Historical Review: Charles Seymour, Yale University, chairman; Henry E. Bourne (*ex officio* as managing editor), 40 B St., S. W., Washington, D. C.; Tenney Frank, James Westfall Thompson, J. Fred Rippy, Dumas Malone, Nellie Neilson.

Special Committee on Archives: A. R. Newsome, Francis S. Philbrick, others to be named (appointments on Public Archives Commission, Historical Manuscripts Commission, and Committee on Publications, deferred).

Committee on Membership: R. C. Miller, Wayne University, chairman; Thomas A. Bailey, F. Lee Benns, J. E. Pomfret.

Conference of Historical Societies: Christopher B. Coleman, Historical Bureau, Indianapolis, secretary.

Representatives of the Association in Allied Bodies: Social Science Research Council, Guy Stanton Ford, Roy F. Nichols, Arthur M. Schlesinger; *American Council of Learned Societies,* Evarts B. Greene, Edward P. Cheyney; *International Committee of Historical Sciences,* W. G. Leland; *Subcommission on Colonial History,* L. J. Ragatz.

Committees on Prizes: George Louis Beer Prize, F. Lee Benns, Indiana University, chairman; Eugene N. Anderson, Ross J. S. Hoffman; *John H. Dunning Prize,* Robert E. Riegel, Dartmouth College, chairman; Benjamin B. Kendrick, Fred A. Shannon; *Jusserand Medal,* Carl Wittke, Ohio State University, chairman; Theodore C. Blegen, Eloise Ellery.

Committee on Documentary Historical Publications of the United States Government: Leo F. Stock, Catholic University of America, chairman; Dumas Malone and St. George L. Sioussat (*ex officio* as members for the Association of the National Historical Publications Commission).

Committee on the Carnegie Revolving Fund for Publications: Edward P. Cheyney, R. F. D. No. 3, Media, Pa., chairman; Vera Lee Brown, Howard L. Gray, Kent R. Greenfield, Thomas J. Wertenbaker.

Committee on the Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fund: Roy F. Nichols, University of Pennsylvania, chairman; Arthur C. Cole, James G. Randall.

Committee on the Littleton-Griswold Fund: Francis S. Philbrick, University of Pennsylvania Law School, chairman; Charles M. Andrews, Carroll T. Bond, Evarts B. Greene, Richard B. Morris, Thomas I. Parkinson, Charles Warren.

Committee on the Bibliography of Travel: Solon J. Buck, Historical Building, Pittsburgh.

Committee on Radio: Conyers Read, 226 South 16th St., Philadelphia, chairman; Evelyn Plummer Braun, John A. Krout, Ralph S. Rounds, William Slater, Elizabeth Y. Webb.

Committee on Americana for College Libraries: Randolph G. Adams, University of Michigan, chairman; Samuel Flagg Bemis, William W. Bishop, J. Franklin Jameson, Tracy W. McGregor, Conyers Read, Lawrence C. Wroth.

Board of Editors of The Social Studies: Charles A. Beard, New Milford, chairman; W. G. Kimmel, 204 Fayerweather Hall, Columbia University, managing editor; Albert E. McKinley, 1021 Filbert St., Philadelphia, editor; Conyers Read, George S. Counts, Edgar Dawson, Alice N. Gibbons, A. C. Krey, Max Lerner, Bessie L. Pierce.

The Association awards two prizes this year, the John H. Dunning Prize and the George Louis Beer Prize. Works may be submitted in print or in manuscript on or before June 1. For the Dunning prize the subject is to relate to American history and the competition is open to members of the Association. For the Beer prize the subject may be any phase of European international history since 1895, and competition is open to citizens of the United States. In the case of the Jusserand Medal there are no restrictions, except that the subject must deal with some phase of the history of the intellectual relations between the United States and other countries.

ADDITIONS TO THE LIST OF RESEARCH PROJECTS

[Research work undertaken to satisfy the requirements of advanced degrees not included]

IV. Modern Europe

The parliamentary development of Continental Europe, 1634–1775. Prog. 125 pages. Francis J. Bowman, *State College of Washington.*

Europe between the religious and the political revolutions, 1598–1789. Prog. 5 years. Francis J. Bowman.

Thomas Paine and eighteenth century radicalism in England, America, and France. Prog. Several years. Harry Hayden Clark, *Wisconsin.*

VII. France

A life of Bernadotte. Prog. 3 years. A study of propaganda during the Napoleonic period. Prog. Several years. Franklin D. Scott, *Superior State Teachers College.*

The labor movement in France, 1880–1895. Prog. 100 pages. Harold E. Blinn, *State College of Washington.*

IX. Great Britain and Ireland

(a) Before 1485

Warwickshire justice of the peace rolls of the fourteenth century (Dugdale Society). Prog. Several years. Elisabeth G. Kimball, Cheshire, Conn.

XVIII. United States of America

(8) Since 1782

An extensive biography of Thomas Jefferson. Prog. Several years. Dumas Malone, *Dictionary of American Biography.*

John Forsyth, statesman of the Old South. Ralph B. Flanders, *New York University.*

Economic history of the Northwest Indian, to 1848. Prog. 3 years. Herman J. Deutsch, *State College of Washington.*

Biography of Daniel D. Tompkins (1774–1825). Prog. One year. Ray W. Irwin, *New York.*

The two-thirds rule in Senate action upon treaties. Prog. Several years. R. Earl McClendon, *Sam Houston State Teachers College.*

Note. A project of Courtney Robert Hall, announced in the January number as "The Medical Department of the Confederate Navy" should have read "Army".

PERSONAL

Herman Vandenburg Ames, professor of American constitutional history at the University of Pennsylvania, died on February 7 at the age of 69. He was a graduate of Amherst College in the class of 1888. His graduate studies were carried on at Columbia, Harvard, Leipzig, and Heidelberg, and his degrees of A.M and Ph.D were taken at Harvard in 1890 and 1891. He began his teaching at the University of Michigan in 1891. From 1894 to 1897 he was assistant professor of history at Ohio State University, and in the latter year he was called to teach American constitutional history at the University of Pennsylvania. In 1908 he was made professor. Dr. Ames was almost invariably known as Dean Ames. This was due to his long and influential career, twenty years, from 1907 to 1928, as dean of the Graduate School at the University of Pennsylvania, where he placed his strong impress upon graduate work during an important formative period of the school. Many hundred students and a large group of colleagues had reason to admire his firmness, his courtesy, his personal interest, and his devotion to high standards of scholarship. He was active in the service of the American Historical Association, having been in its Council from 1911 to 1913, and chairman of its Public Archives Commission for ten years. He was a member of many learned and historical societies, among them the Pennsylvania Historical Society and the American Philosophical Society. As the subject of his Justin

Winsor Prize Essay, "Proposed Amendments to the Constitution of the United States", the first work so crowned by the American Historical Association, and as the title of his professorship indicate, his special field of historical interest was the history and interpretation of the Constitution of the United States. In this field he gave many courses of lectures, graduate, undergraduate, and public, edited two collections of documents and prepared several monographs and articles. His attitude toward the Constitution was one of liberal interpretation, but he deprecated any intrusion upon its political character. When the eighteenth amendment grafted in it what he considered an alien provision, which should have been a matter of legislation, not of constitutional requirement, he protested and prophesied it would not remain permanently a part of the Constitution, which proved to be the case. Dean Ames was a man of distinguished appearance and manner, of much dignity, though simple and friendly to his students and had an unusually wide circle of acquaintances. He was interested in music and art and devoted to travel. He was anticipating a fuller enjoyment of them in his approaching retirement.

E. P. C.

Nathaniel Wright Stephenson, one of the most suggestive writers on the history of the United States, died on February 9 at the age of 67. He was a member of the class of 1896 at Indiana University. Part of his undergraduate years had been spent at the University of Cincinnati and at Harvard. He also had considerable journalistic experience, which stimulated his interest in writing. His first work in teaching was at Indiana University as an instructor in English. In 1902 he went to the College of Charleston as professor of history, a position which he held for twenty-one years. During this period he was also visiting professor for a year at Yale and another year at Columbia. In 1927 he became a charter member of the newly founded Scripps College at Claremont. His chair bore his own name, the "Nathaniel Wright Stephenson Professorship of History and Biography". His most notable works in the historical field were *Nelson W. Aldrich, a Leader in American Politics* (1930), and three volumes in the "Chronicles of America" series, *Texas and the Mexican War* (1921), *Abraham Lincoln and the Union* (1918), and *The Day of the Confederacy* (1919). Last year his two volume *History of the American People* appeared. He had long been at work upon a life of Washington, the manuscript of which he left half completed. It has been remarked that Professor Stephenson was pre-eminently a humanist, that his attention was concentrated on the achievements of man's spirit, and that he gave no weight to the doctrine of economic determinism. His colleagues found him "gentle, unfailingly courteous, generous, eager for truth, and industrious to the end".

Lyon Gardiner Tyler, ex-president of William and Mary College and distinguished historian of Virginia, died on February 12 at the age of 81.

He was the son of John Tyler, tenth President of the United States. A graduate of the class of 1874 at the University of Virginia, he took his master's degree there a year later. Although trained for the law he devoted himself to teaching and to historical research. He became president of William and Mary College in 1888 and served in that office for thirty-one years. In 1892 he began at his own expense the publication of the *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* and was its editor until his retirement from the presidency. He then started *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine*. His first important historical work was *The Letters and Times of the Tylers* (3 vols., 1884–1896). He edited *Narratives of Early Virginia, 1606–1625* (1907) in the series of "Original Narratives of American History". Another book was *The English in America, 1580–1652* (1904). He also edited biographical dictionaries of Virginians.

Ephraim Emerton, emeritus professor of history at Harvard University, died in Cambridge on March 3. Born in Salem in 1851, and graduated from Harvard in 1871, he then studied in Germany, obtaining in Leipzig in 1876 the degree of doctor of philosophy, with a dissertation on the Triple Alliance of 1668. In that year he began a period of forty-two years' service to Harvard as a teacher of history. From 1882 to 1918 he held in that institution the Winn professorship of ecclesiastical history. In 1884 he was one of the forty-one persons who came together to found the American Historical Association, and at the recent semicentennial celebration was honored as one of the five surviving founders. He was a member of its Council in its first days. During 1916 and 1917 he was one of the Board of Editors of this journal. He was president of the American Society of Church History in 1920–1921, and of the Cambridge Historical Society from 1921 to 1927. Except for his *Desiderius Erasmus* (1899), Dr. Emerton's publications during the time when he was teaching were his *Introduction to the Study of the Middle Ages*, his *Mediaeval Europe*, and his *Beginnings of Modern Europe*, which together surveyed the whole period from 375 to 1500, and by whose clear pages thousands of students and of older readers have been instructed. His release from teaching gave him opportunity for more special studies, presented in two learned volumes, *The Defensor Pacis of Marsiglio of Padua* (1920) and *Humanism and Tyranny*, studies in the political theory of the Italian Trecento (1925). His last works were translations of the correspondence of Pope Gregory VII and of St. Boniface (1931, 1934). Anyone, however, who has read the volume of academic essays entitled *Learning and Living* (1921) will have perceived that, extensive and sound as was Professor Emerton's scholarship, he was more than merely a scholar. He was a man of wisdom and character, the admired teacher of many of our chief medievalists, a good friend, and a delightful companion.

Herbert Allen Giles, the eminent sinologist, died on February 13 at the age of 89. After long residence in China in the consular service he became professor of Chinese at the University of Cambridge. He held this chair for thirty-five years, retiring only three years ago. He was a productive scholar in the highest sense of the term. Among his many works is a unique Chinese Biographical Dictionary. A small book, of large interpretative value, is his *Civilization of China* (1911), in the Home University Library.

Gustave Lanson, to whom historical students owe much because of his researches in French literature, died on December 15 at the age of 77. He was exchange professor at Columbia University in 1911. His *Histoire de la littérature française* reached many editions. Another invaluable work was his *Manuel bibliographique de la littérature française moderne.*

Christian Hülsen, the distinguished archaeologist, died in Florence on January 19 at the age of 76. He was one of Mommsen's students and was for some years connected with the German Archaeological Institute at Rome. He then retired in order to devote himself to his own researches. Among his most important works were *Das Forum romanum* (1904, Eng. tr., 1906) and *Forum und Palatin* (1926, tr., 1928).

Georges Lenotre (*nom de plume* for Louis Léon Théodore Gosselin), a notable writer on phases of the French Revolution and a member of the French Academy, died on February 7 at the age of 78. His interest in the Revolution was concentrated upon incidents which had a story-telling value, upon persons, especially conspirators, and upon the houses in Paris which were part of the stage setting of romantic episodes. His material was drawn from archives rather than from the imagination. Those who have wandered about Paris guided by his various volumes on *Paris révolutionnaire* think of him with gratitude for many an interesting hour. During a long life he produced a multitude of volumes, among which, aside from the series already referred to, are *La guillotine pendant la Révolution* (1893), *Le drame de Varennes* (1905), and *Un conspirateur royaliste pendant la Terreur, le baron de Batz* (rev. ed., 1927). Many of his books have been translated.

A volume entitled *Edward Potts Cheyney* is a fitting tribute to a beloved teacher and colleague, one of America's notable historians. It embodies the addresses made at the presentation of Professor Cheyney's portrait, by the late Adolph Borie, to the University of Pennsylvania, on February 21, 1934. After the speeches of presentation and acceptance Dr. J. Franklin Jameson spoke of Professor Cheyney "As a Member of the American Historical Association", and Dr. Conyers Read discussed his work "As a Writer". A unique feature of the volume is a "Last Will and Testament (Academic)", by Dr. Cheyney himself. A bibliography of his writings is also given. The

frontispiece presents the portrait, and there is also a reproduction of a photograph taken thirty years before. The volume is edited by Professor W. E. Lingelbach.

When in 1921 the late Ambassador Jules Jusserand was president of the American Historical Association the subject of his address at the annual meeting was "The Rearing of Ambassadors". The wording in the printed address was changed to "The School of Ambassadors". M. Jusserand later added paragraphs here and there throughout the address and this version has been published in France (*L'école des ambassadeurs,* Plon, 1934, pp. 193).

The many admirers and friends of the distinguished French historian and teacher, Charles Seignobos, have been responsible for the publication of a volume of his essays and articles under the title of *Études de politique et d'histoire* (Presses Universitaires de France, 1934, pp. xxvii, 398). The editor, who has also compiled a list of Professor Seignobos's publications, is J. Letaconnoux. It is natural that of the four sections of the volume two should be "Méthode" and "Enseignement". Who does not recall the hours spent with "Langlois and Seignobos"? The article on "L'enseignement de l'histoire dans les Universités allemandes", originally published in 1881 in the *Revue internationale de l'enseignement,* has the value of a document especially to American scholars, because it describes the German historical seminar just at the time when it began to attract many students from across the Atlantic. The last article of this section is an appreciation of Ernest Lavisse as an "animateur" of historical teaching and writing. If one looks over the Seignobos bibliography, one is reminded that his first interests were in the medieval field. His French thesis for the doctorate *ès-lettres* dealt with the feudal régime in Burgundy. One associates him now with studies on the later history of France, especially of the Republic.

Professor Johannes Steenstrup, who for sixty years has occupied a prominent position in the gild of Scandinavian historians, celebrated his ninetieth birthday on December 5, 1934. In honor of this rather unique occasion the Danish Historical Society published a small but beautifully printed volume to which the aged historian contributed a statement of his academic creed and methods of work and instruction (*Joh. Steenstrup,* udgivet af den Danske Historiske Forening, Copenhagen, 1934, pp. 97). The volume also contains a list, compiled by Alfred Krarup, of Dr. Steenstrup's published writings, books, pamphlets, and newspaper articles, 664 items in all, detailing an activity which has continued to 1934. L. M. L.

Professor Becker, of Cornell University, is on leave during the present semester. He is to deliver this month at Stanford University, on the West Memorial Foundation, a series of three lectures.

Professor Henry R. Shipman, on leave of absence from Princeton University for the second semester of this year, plans to go to England for work in the archives.

Dr. Howard K. Beale is at New York University for the second semester, conducting courses in American History.

Dr. Joseph Schafer, of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, has been invited to deliver at University College, the University of London, early in 1936, a course of eight lectures on "The Social History of Agriculture in the United States".

In the *Annales de l'Est* (1934, no. 3) Louis Madelin, of the French Academy, reviews with deep appreciation the career of the late Christian Pfister.

Announcement is made of the appointment of visiting professors for the summer sessions of the following universities: *California* [Berkeley], John C. Parish, Donald W. Rowland, [Los Angeles], David Saville Muzzey; *Chicago,* F. Lee Benns, Julius W. Pratt; *Columbia,* Henry S. Commager, Louis Hacker, William E. Lingelbach, Nathaniel Schmidt; *Duke,* Wilfrid H. Callcott, Hastings Eells, W. T. Morgan, Charles S. Sydnor, O. H. Wedel; *Harvard,* Penfield Roberts, C. K. Shipton, W. P. Webb; *Indiana,* Carl Brand, H. N. Howard; *Michigan,* Henry S. Lucas, E. G. Schwiebert; *Missouri,* Charles W. Ramsdell, A. Curtis Wilgus; *Ohio State,* E. E. Dale; *Pittsburgh,* A. C. Krey; *Southern California,* Laurence M. Larson, Paul Chrisler Phillips; *Texas,* W. C. Binkley, H. B. Gambrell, W. R. Hogan, J. C. Patterson, Gaines Post, Louis B. Schmidt, R. W. Strickland, J. O. Van Hook, R. L. Waller; *Washington,* Quirinus Breen, Marcus Wilson Jernegan; *West Virginia,* Harold J. Grimm, Henry H. Simms, Joseph R. Strayer; *Wisconsin,* Frederic L. Paxson.

To this list should be added: *Colorado,* Cardinal Goodwin, Carroll B. Malone; *Emory,* Henry T. Shanks.

GENERAL

General review: Jean Bourdon, *Ouvrages récents de démographie* (Rev. Synthèse, Dec.); J. F. Rees, *The Scope of Economic History* (History, Dec.); T. S. Ashton, *The Industrial Revolution: a Study on Bibliography* (Ec. Hist. Rev., Oct.).

The Eighth International Congress of Historical Sciences will be held in Zürich in 1938 during the second half of August. The congress will last a week, with possibly a recess about the middle of that period, and will be followed by excursions. Preparations for the congress are in the hands of a

committee of Swiss historians, under the general direction of a special international committee on organization composed of representatives of the countries in which international congresses have already been held. It is proposed that the morning sessions shall be of a general character, at each of which not more than six papers shall be read. The subjects and authors of the papers are to be selected by the Swiss committee. The afternoon sessions will be held in sections, as in the past, but it is proposed to limit the total number of papers to be presented at these sectional meetings to 150, and it is planned to have these related to subjects determined in advance. Final decisions respecting the character of the congress will be taken by the International Committee of Historical Sciences at its meeting in Prague in August, 1935.

The governing board of the International Committee of Historical Sciences met at Zürich—which, with the transfer of the treasurership of the committee to that city, has now become the headquarters of the committee—in September, 1934. The first meeting of the full committee since the International Congress at Warsaw will be held at Prague in August, 1935. It will be presided over by Professor Harold W. V. Temperley, of Cambridge University, who succeeded Professor Halvdan Koht as chairman of the committee. It is expected that representatives of most of the forty-one countries that are affiliated with the committee will be present. The announcement is made that an additional subvention of $10,000 for the support of the committee in 1935–1937 has been received from the Rockefeller Foundation.

The September, 1934, *Bulletin* of the International Committee of Historical Sciences has recently appeared. It is devoted to the work of the standing Committee on Historical Iconography, and contains valuable material relating to collections in Germany, Austria, and France. Among the contributions are: "Bibliographie zur Geschichte des deutschen Porträts: Schriftum seit 1924", compiled by Sigfrid Steinberg; "Namenliste zu einer Ikonographie des österreichischen Humanismus", by Hans Ankwicz; "Le Musée national de Versailles: Son importance au point de vue de l'iconographie historique étrangère", by Albert Dépreaux. The Committee on Iconography has approved a standard international form of description of portraits, pictures, etc., of historical interest, and has devised a standard form of card on which such descriptions may be entered. Information respecting the *Bulletin* may be had from the American Historical Association.

A series of summer seminars is projected, similar to the seminars on Far Eastern studies at Harvard and the University of California in 1932 and 1934. They are designed to provide mature teachers with information and techniques not readily obtainable at any other time. The seminar on Chinese and Japanese Studies will be held at Columbia University, July 5-August 16, under the direction of Dr. L. C. Goodrich. Other instructors will be Arthur

W. Hummel, Benjamin March, Carl W. Bishop, Ryusaku Tsunoda, Shunzo Sakamaki, and H. G. Henderson. The second Russian Language Institute will also be held at Columbia, June 25-August 31, with Professor George Z. Patrick in charge. An elementary course will give a useful control of Russian materials to historians, political scientists, and other scholars. The advanced course will be intended for those already having some command of the Russian language. A seminar in Arabic and Islamic Studies is to be held at Princeton University, July 20-31, under the direction of Professor Philip K. Hitti. Professor Walter L. Wright, jr., is secretary. Other instructors are Nabih A. Faris, Edward Jurji, and Dr. M. Aga-Oglu. Medievalists, historians of science, the fine arts, and Eastern Europe, as well as linguists, to whose interests the Arabic-Islamic field is peripheral, will find the work pertinent to their needs. Among the special lecturers are Professors A. A. Vasiliev, George Sarton, James A. Montgomery, Martin Sprengling, and Edwin E. Calverley. It is hoped that some financial assistance can be offered to a few qualified scholars who might otherwise be prevented from attending any of these seminars. Further information can be had from Dr. Mortimer Graves, American Council of Learned Societies, 907 Fifteenth St., N. W., Washington.

The fourth annual Seminar Conference on Hispanic American Affairs is to be held at the George Washington University from July 1 to August 9. The lecturers include James Alexander Robertson, Clarence F. Jones, Philip Ainsworth Means, Marie Madden, Arthur S. Aiton, Lillian Fisher, J. Lloyd Mecham, Alfred Hasbrouck, John Tate Lanning, Irving A. Leonard, Roland D. Hussey, Cecil K. Jones, and A. Curtis Wilgus.

The Training Center for Far Eastern Studies in the Library of Congress, which began its work on September 1 under the direction of Dr. Arthur W. Hummel, has already attracted upwards of twenty American, Chinese, and Japanese scholars. There is a staff of six. One of the most important enterprises is the preparation of biographies to be embodied in "Contributions to a Biographical Dictionary of the Ch'ing Dynasty". Another, carried on by two resident scholars, is the translation of a selected section of the "Dynastic Histories of China".

The Department of History at Queen's University, Kingston, announces another session of its summer school at the Public Archives of Canada at Ottawa, July 4 to August 15. The director will be Professor W. Menzies Whitelaw, of McGill University.

Under the auspices of the Committee on Cultural Relations with Latin America a tenth seminar will be held in Cuernavaca and Mexico City from July 3 to 23. The seminar includes three weeks of lectures, Round Table discussions, and field trips. Applications for further information should be

sent to Hubert C. Herring, the executive director, 287 Fourth Avenue, New York.

The Huntington Library Bulletin for November includes three articles of special interest to historical students: "John Hepwith's Spenserian Satire upon Buckingham, with some Jacobean Analogues", by Hoyt H. Hudson; "The Reading of Plays during the Puritan Revolution", by Louis B. Wright; and "American Prose Style, 1700–1770", by Howard Mumford Jones.

Vol. XVII of the *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* (London, 1934, pp. 308) opens with the Presidential Address, by Professor F. M. Powicke, on "Some Problems in the History of the Medieval University". He expresses the conviction that insufficient study had been given to the intellectural activity of the average master, bachelor, and student, so that even a great work like Rashdall's *Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages* "conveys little sense of coherence, of a closely knit, if turbulent, society actually alive and carried along by its own impetus". Professor Powicke remarks that the labors of recent scholars have already advanced far enough to give a new perspective to the intellectual life of Paris. The burden of his address was to show the direction which further studies should take. One of the other papers in the volume is the Alexander Prize Essay, on "Sir John Fortescue and his Theory of Dominion", by S. B. Chrimes.

The Royal Historical Society is planning a new series of guides and manuals dealing with such subjects as British currency and chronology, commercial statistics for the period 1660–1782. The series will also include a catalogue and index to printed parliamentary papers, 1731–1800, and lists of departmental officials. These are intended as aids to historical research.

The Royal Historical Society announces the "David Berry Essay" Gold Medal and Prize of £50 for a study on a subject, to be selected by the candidate, dealing with Scottish history within the reigns of James I to James VI inclusive. The essays must be submitted before November 1, 1937, at 22, Russell Square, London.

The British Academy has published in advance from vol. XX of its *Proceedings* (Humphrey Milford) Christopher Dawson's Hertz Lecture on *Edward Gibbon* and Professor C. K. Webster's Raleigh Lecture on *Palmerston, Metternich, and the European System, 1830–1841*.

The manifestations of national spirit are often of such dubious value to mankind that it is the more satisfying to find one which has meant nothing but good. This we must credit to the working company of scholars constituting the Commission royale d'histoire of the Académie royale de Belgique. The origin of the commission goes back to the Revolution of 1830, when it became the policy of the new Belgian monarchy to promote his-

torical learning. "Rien ne pouvait fournir une réponse plus péremptoire à ceux qui contestaient à la Belgique le droit à l'indépendance que la mise au jour des monuments qui attestaient son antiquité." These words are taken from Professor Henri Pirenne's history of the commission, which is the introductory section of *La Commission royale d'histoire, 1834–1934: Livre jubilaire* (Brussels, Palais des Académies, pp. 372). The commission has been small, of seven members, almost uniformly productive scholars, with "membres suppléants" after 1869. The narrative of its activities and achievements must fill the reader with astonishment and admiration. The original plans were so well made that it was only in 1898 that they were reviewed and their scope enlarged, especially to include documents of economic content. Although since 1845 an adjunct of the Royal Academy, in administration the commission has remained independent. The beautifully printed anniversary volume contains biographies, often with portraits, of deceased members, with lists of their publications either in the *Bulletin* or in the several series. The bibliographies of the present members are added. The volume concludes with a systematic list of the publications of the commission.

The valuable manual of Professor E. Cavaignac on *Chronologie de l'histoire mondiale* (Payot, 1934, pp. 231), originally published in 1925, has been reissued in a revised and enlarged edition. The introduction deals with the different systems of chronology, starting with the present and moving back stage by stage to earlier or differing systems. The explanations are intended to make the subject clear even to the non-technical reader. This section is followed by lists of dates arranged in parts, each part divided into periods, although the periods are numbered consecutively throughout. The parts are named from some dominant fact or figure. The second part, made up of the fourth to the eighth periods inclusive, is called "Socrates, Buddha, Confucius", while the sixth and final part, periods twenty-three to twenty-six, is called the "British Empire". There is a supplementary note dealing with primitive Christian chronology.

The Hulsean Lectures for 1933–1934, by H. G. Wood, have been published under the title of *Christianity and the Nature of History* (Macmillan, 1934, pp. xxxviii, 224, $2.50), which was the subject of the first lecture. Another of the series of six of special interest to historical students is "Great Men and Social Forces in History".

Professors Frederick Eby and Charles Flinn Arrowood, of the University of Texas, in writing a text on *The Development of Modern Education* (Prentice-Hall, 1934, pp. xxiv, 922, $3.00) have taken a broad view of their problem. They have decided to present an account not only of educational theory and practice, but also of the great historic movements, the changing economic conditions, and the developments in the field of thought, which

have had an influence on education. In the distribution of space there is relatively little about recent educational history. The chapter on "Recent American Educational Reformers" is chiefly a discussion of the influence of Professor John Dewey. In the title of the second chapter, which discusses Humanism north of the Alps, "The Nordic Revolt and Reconstruction", there is an unpleasant echo of controversies beyond the sea.

A considerable part of the current issue of *Historisk Tidsskrift* (1934, no. 4) is given over to a bibliography of Norwegian history compiled by Reidar Omang.

The Danish *Historisk Tidsskrift* published at the close of last year a bibliographical supplement covering the years 1931 and 1932. The lists were prepared by H. Bruun (*Fortegnelse over historisk Litteratur,* Copenhagen, 1934, pp. 105).

A few years ago eleven Swedish historians began to collaborate on an extensive history of the Swedish Church to be published in nine volumes, each of about 600 pages. Volume III, the first to appear, came from the press in 1933; the entire work is to be completed not later than 1937. The venture is directed by Hjalmar Holmquist and Hilding Pleijel of the University of Lund.

The Anglo-Swedish Literary Foundation (founded soon after the close of the World War) has realized one of its several purposes in the publication of a *Short History of Sweden* which, though quite brief and highly condensed, is still sufficiently extensive to give the general public a fairly adequate idea of the essential facts and movements in Swedish national development (New York, Oxford University Press, 1934, pp. x, 443, $5.00). The volume is the joint product of Ragnar Svanström and Carl Fredrik Palmstierna. The translation is by Joan Bulman. Mr. Svanström has contributed most of the materials down to the death of Charles XII (1718) and has produced a very readable narrative. The history of the last two centuries is the work of Dr. Palmstierna, who writes from a thorough understanding of the facts and forces that have shaped the Swedish nation in modern times.

L. M. L.

A Short History of Czechoslovakia (Robert M. McBride, 1934, pp. v, 198, $2.00), by Professor Kamil Krofta, of the University of Prague, devotes to the last two centuries somewhat more than their share of attention. This is hardly to be wondered at, and the chapters dealing with the origin and development of Bohemian civilization are not so much curtailed as to lose appreciably in value. The moderation with which the many serious and controversial problems of recent times are discussed merits commendation even from those who might not on some details agree with the author.

Reasonable attention is given to the cultural development of each period and, of course, to the vital religious factors. In general one must admit that the purpose of the volume, to serve as introductory manual to the history of a country far more important than its size or population would indicate, has been well and fairly carried out. The map includes within its boundaries countries which were parts of Bohemia. Kings of Bohemia did not rule in Vienna under that title, or in Budapest or Belgrade. A. I. A.

A text of great utility in the study of the five governments of England, France, Germany, Italy, and Russia is *The Background of European Governments* (Farrar and Rinehart, 1935, pp. xv, 604), by Professor Norman L. Hill and Associate Professor Harold W. Stake, both of the University of Nebraska, because the treatment is composed of a wide variety of explanation and comment drawn from books, magazine articles, newspaper descriptions, speeches, and letters.

A Preface to Economic History (Harper, 1934, pp. vii, 232, $1.50), by Huntly Macdonald Sinclair, formerly assistant professor of economics and commerce at Washington University, introduces "the beginner in the study of economics to the origins of our complicated economic system". It starts with primitive man. There is a brief bibliography.

Articles: Lazare de Gérin-Richard, *L'héritage de Fustel de Coulanges* (Rev. Ques. Hist., Nov.); J. A. Spender, *The Writing of Modern History* (Contemporary Rev., Jan.); Shepard B. Clough, *Present Trends in French Historical Writing* (Columbia Univ. Quar., June); Paul C. Perrotta, *Giambattista Vico, Philosopher-Historian* (Catholic Hist. Rev., Jan.); Michael Williams, *The Contemporary Crisis in Thought and the Historian* [Presidential Address, American Catholic Historical Association] (*ibid.*); Walter J. Shepard, *Democracy in Transition* [Presidential Address, Am. Pol. Sci. Assoc.] (Am. Pol. Sci. Rev., Feb.); Cyrus H. Peake, *Some Aspects of the Introduction of Modern Science into China* (Isis, Dec.); George Sarton, *George Catlin, "Indian-loving Catlin", 1796–1872* (*ibid.*); *Golden Jubilee of the American Catholic Historical Society* (Rec. Am. Cath. Hist. Soc., Sept.); E. L. Woodward, *Bias in the Teaching of History* (History, Dec.).

ANCIENT HISTORY

The following reports of excavations and discoveries have recently appeared: a general review for 1933 in the *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, 1934, no. 1; the Oriental Institute report in the *American Journal of Semitic Languages* for January; Tell el Amarna, by J. D. S. Pendlebury in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* for November; Ras Shamra material, by Ch. Virolleaud in *Syria*, XV, no. 3; Antissa, by W. Lamb, the Ionian

Islands by S. Burton, Haliartos, by R. P. Austin, all in the *Annual of the British School at Athens,* XXXII; excavations in the grotto of Arkalochori, by Sp. Marinatos in the *Rivista di filologia* for December; on Holland, by A. Roes, and on Gaul, by A. Grenier, in the *Revue des études anciennes* for December; and finally Roman Britain, by R. G. Collingwood and M. V. Taylor, in the *Journal of Roman Studies,* 1934, no. 2.

On historical sources we may note articles by H. Güterbock on historical tradition and its literary form among the Babylonians and the Hittites in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie,* August; M. Dittman, on the development of historiography among the Romans in the *Classical Journal* for February; reports of recent literature on Tacitus, Velleius, Valerius Maximus, Mela, Columella, Curtius Rufus, Frontinus, Ammianus Marcellinus, Eutropius, and Aurelius Victor, in *Bursian's Jahresbericht,* no. 247; P. Preiswerk, in *Philologus* for December, on reflections of his time in Valerius Flaccus; and sources for Plutarch's life of Marcellus, by A. Klotz, in *Rheinisches Museum,* LXXXIII, no. 4. Note also a bibliography of Christian Egypt, 1933–1934, by De Lacy O'Leary in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology,* November.

The University of Missouri *Studies* for January contains a monograph of Dr. Thomas Allan Brady on "The Reception of the Egyptian Cults by the Greeks, 330–30 B. C.".

In *Staaten, Völker, Männer* (Leipzig, Dieterich, 1934, pp. viii, 158, 6 M.), Professor Ernst Kornemann has published a group of six lectures delivered between 1926 and 1933. They reveal the historian's wide range of interest and knowledge of many periods of Ancient history. All are more or less connected with problems of the ancient state. The first lecture is a general discussion, somewhat Spenglerian in its point of view. The second interestingly uses the situation of Attic cults in Athens as a basis for a discussion of the stages in the unification of Attica, and a third attempts to trace some genuine Macedonian strands in the tradition of Alexander to the writings of Ptolemy I. Tiberius is presented in the tragic rôle of an anachronistic Cato broken on the system of Augustus. There follows a general essay on the "invisible boundaries of the Roman Empire", really a prospectus for a series of studies of client-kingdoms in the historical seminar at Breslau, showing how Roman policy in dealing with these prepared the way for the *peripeteia* of the late empire. The final study, the site of Varus's defeat, is more specifically addressed to his German audience and concludes with the hope that Hitler will redeem the political ineffectiveness of the Germans so well exemplified in the fate of Arminius.

The essays on *Citizens of Long Ago,* by the late Adeline Belle Hawes (Oxford University Press, 1934, pp. vii, 183, $2.50) present with a quiet charm and wit the human side of a number of the more interesting figures

of the Roman Empire. The series ranges from Plutarch through Martial, Apuleius, Marcus Aurelius and Fronto, Lucian, Julian, and Rutilius Namatianus, picking out the details that reveal the personal qualities of each. The same emphasis upon human interests goes on through two more studies, one, of the Roman attitude to children, and the other, of Roman charities and philanthropies. The book contains little that is new but much that may be appreciated and enjoyed.

In *Gli studi romani nel mondo* (Bologna, Licinio Cappelli, 1934, pp. 203), vol. I, we have a series of articles by specialists who review the progress of Roman studies in various countries during the past decade. One may perhaps mention especially Roman archaeology in America by Van Buren, Carcopino's review of Roman studies in France, Boethius on Roman History and Topography in Sweden, and Richmond on a decade of excavations in Britain, but the series contains more out of the way materials such as Bohemian researches, by B. Jensovsky, Roman History in Hungarian Historiography, by G. Miskolczy, and Roman Law in Japan, by Toshio Muto.

Articles: H. C. Richardson, *Iron, Prehistoric and Ancient* (Am. Jour. Arch., Dec.); T. Fish, *Aspects of Sumerian Civilisation during the Third Dynasty of Ur* (Bull., John Rylands Library, Jan.); R. Gordis, *Sectional Rivalry in the Kingdom of Judah* (Jewish Quar. Rev., Jan.); J. A. Wilson, *The Libyans and the End of the Egyptian Empire* (Am. Jour. Sem. Lang., Jan.); J. G. Milne, *"Phocaean Gold" in Egypt* (Jour. Egypt. Arch., Nov.); N. G. L. Hammond, *Prehistoric Epirus and the Dorian Invasion* (Ann. Brit. Sch. Athens, XXXII); M. L. Kambanis, *Note sur le classement chronologique des monnaies d'Athènes* (Bull. Corr. Hell., 1934, no. 1); B. D. Merritt and G. Davidson, *Treaty of Athens and Haliae* (Am. Jour. Philol., Jan.); A. Momigliano, *La* koine eirene *dal 386 al 338 a. C.* (Riv. Filol., Dec.); G. de Sanctis, *Epigraphica XII: Il regolamento militari dei Macedoni* (*ibid.*); S. Accame, *La diarchia dei Molossi* (*ibid.*); Jean Hatzfeld, *Un tournant dans l'histoire de la Grèce* (Rev. Synthèse, Dec.); E. Bickermann, *Alexandre le Grand et les villes d'Asie* (Rev. Études Grecques, Sept.); E. T. Salmon, *Rome's Battles with Etruscans and Gauls in 284–282 B. C.* (Class. Philol., Jan.); T. Frank, *On the Migration of Romans to Sicily* (Am. Jour. Philol., Jan.); N. Vulic, *The Illyrian War of Octavian* (Jour. Rom. Stud., 1934, no. 2); R. Syme, *Lentulus and the Origin of Moesia* (*ibid.*); K. Scott, *The Rôle of Basilides in the Events of A. D. 69* (*ibid.*); A. von Premerstein, *C. Julius Quadratus Bassus, Klient des jüngeren Plinius und General Trajans* (Sitzungsber. Bayer. Akad., 1934, no. 3); F. Pringsheim, *The Legal Policy and Reforms of Hadrian* (Jour. Rom. Stud., 1934, no. 2); F. Cumont, *The Population of Syria* (*ibid.*); H. Mattingly, *Britannia* (Antiquity, Jan.); A. P. Dorjahn and L. K. Born, *Vegetius on the Decay of the Roman Army*

(Class. Jour., Dec.); E. J. Jonkers, *De l'influence du Christianisme sur la législation relative à l'esclavage dans l'antiquité* (Mnemosyne, Oct.); Émile Linckenheld, *Une nouvelle voie romaine en Lorraine* (An. l'Est, 1934, no. 4).

T. R. S. B.

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

The second of the studies in the script of Tours, published by the Mediaeval Academy of America, is entitled *The Earliest Book of Tours, with Supplementary Descriptions of other Manuscripts of Tours* (1934, pp. xvii, 140, plates 60). The author is Professor Edward K. Rand, who has had the assistance of Professor Leslie Webber Jones for the descriptions of certain manuscripts which were not noted or were inadequately described in Volume I. The first part of the work describes and analyzes the copy of Eugippius's extracts from St. Augustine, a manuscript which is accepted as the earliest representative product of the school of Tours. The equipment of indexes and reference plates is designed to make the volume of the greatest practical utility to students of Latin paleography. It is believed that this new contribution of the Mediaeval Academy sheds important light upon the Carolingian culture, which is of growing significance in the general estimate of the civilization of the Middle Ages.

The rôle of Reims in the life of France emphasizes the importance of the *Histoire de Reims depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours* (Reims, Matot-Braine, 3 vols., 800 plans, maps, portraits, and other sketches, 125 fr.), by Georges Boussinesq and Gustave Laurent. It is based upon a careful examination of the archives of the city as well as upon other relevant material. M. Laurent is already known for his works upon various phases of the history of Reims.

Under the editorship of Arthur Landgraf, professor of theology at Bamberg, Spicilegium sacrum Lovaniense publishes as its fasc. 14 two *Écrits théologiques de l'école d'Abélard: Textes inédits* (Louvain, 1934, pp. lviii, 330). One, *Sententie Parisienses,* found in the Bibliothèque nationale at Paris, is dated between 1139 and 1141; the other, *Ysagoge in theologiam* from a MS. in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, was written between 1148 and 1152. The authorship in both cases is unknown.

The Council of Vienne, in which the Order of Templars made its last vain stand against Pope Clement V and Philip the Fair, is discussed for the first time as a whole by Ewald Müller in *Das Konzil von Vienne, 1311–1312, seine Quellen und seine Geschichte* (Vorreformationsgeschichtliche Forschungen, vol. XII, Münster, Aschendorff, 1934, pp. xvi, 756).

Social Conflicts in Medieval German Poetry (University of California Publications in Philology, Vol. XVIII, No. 1, 1934, pp. viii, 140), by Erwin

Gustav Gudde, is directed primarily to the student of literature, but will be of interest to the historian searching for source material on medieval social attitudes. The author, however, would have been well advised if he had read more than he has in the history of the period. It is somewhat surprising to find such important omissions from his bibliography as Blume, *Quellensätze zur Geschichte unseres Volkes,* vol. III; Dieffenbacher, *Deutsches Leben im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert,* with excellent bibliography (1907); Th. Schauffler, *Quellenbuchlein zur Kulturgeschichte des deutschen Mittelalters* (2d ed., 1894); Michael, *Culturzustände des deutschen Volkes,* 6 vols. (1897–1915), and his *Geschichte des deutschen Volkes,* vol. III (3d ed., 1897). A reading of James Westfall Thompson's *Feudal Germany,* ch. XIII (Chicago, 1928), would also have assisted the author's understanding of social classes in medieval Germany.

Des lois et coutumes de Saint-Amand, by Professor E. M. Meijers, of the University of Leiden, and Professor J. J. Salverda de Grave, formerly at the University of Amsterdam (Haarlem, Willink and Son, 1934, pp. xx, 268, 12.75 fl.), contains the extant texts of the civil, penal, and administrative law of the commune of Saint-Amand, a town in French Flanders situated on the River Scarpe north of Valenciennes. The documents date from the twelfth century and since and the carefully prepared text is accompanied by a parallel translation in modern French. The editors discovered the original in the rich repository of the Bibliotheca Thysiana in Leiden, without which text, it appears, we would be unable to form an adequate opinion of the law of this old French Flemish town. An appendix of twelve documents, drawn for the most part from the archives of Lille and of Saint-Amand, is appended. A glossary of unusual terms and a sketch-map of Saint-Amand are added, thus greatly enhancing the usefulness of this handsome volume.

H. S. L.

The first volume of Jean Guiraud's *Histoire de l'Inquisition au Moyen Age* (Picard, pp. xlviii, 425, 55 fr.) deals with the Cathari and the Vaudois and the constitution of a court to combat them. There are to be two other volumes.

The Swedish historian Sture Bolin has published an important study of the military and naval organizations in Denmark in the later Middle Ages and of the growing importance of the privileged classes in these services (*Lædung och Frälse* [the militia and the privileged classes], Lund, 1934.)

Articles: Ludwig Schmidt, *Das germanische Volkstum in den Reichen der Völkerwanderung* (Hist. Vierteljahr., Jan.); G. H. Wheeler, *St. Patrick's Birthplace* (Eng. Hist. Rev., Jan.); J. E. A. Jolliffe, *English Book-right* (*ibid.*); Alexandre Haggerty Krappe, *La légende de l'arrivée des Lombards en Italie* (Moyen Age, Dec.); Philip Grierson, *Hughes de Saint-Bertin:*

Était-il archichapelain de Charles le chauve? (*ibid.*); Louis H. Gray, *The Origin of the Name of Glastonbury* (Speculum, Jan.); Joan Hussey, *Michael Psellus, the Byzantine Historian* (*ibid.*); Dorothy Sutcliffe, *The Financial Condition of the See of Canterbury, 1279–1292* (*ibid.*); B. Schmeidler, *Nochmals: Venedig und das Deutsche Reich von 983–1024* (Hist. Zeitsch., Jan.); H. A. Cronne, *The Salisbury Oath* [Historical Revision, LXXI] (History, Dec.); Halvdan Koht, *Noreg eit len av St. Olav* [Norway a fief held from St. Olaf] (Norw. Hist. Tidsskr., 1934, no. 3); Wilhelm Petzsch, *Jumne-Jomsborg und die Ausgrabungen in Wollin* (Nordische Rundschau, 1934, no. 3); Johannes Steenstrup, *Valdemar Sejrs Död og de ved Tronskiftet vedtagne Ændringer i Landets Styrelse* [changes in the Danish administration after the death of Valdemar the Victorious] (Dan. Hist. Tidsskr., 1934, no. 1); Absalon Taranger, *Om kongevalg i Norge i sagatiden* [royal elections in Norway in the saga period] (Norw. Hist. Tidsskr., 1934, no. 3; Ferdinand Güterbock, *Barbarossas ältester Sohn und die Thronfolge des Zweitgeborenen* (Hist. Vierteljahr., Jan.); N. Denholm-Young, *Robert Carpenter and the Provisions of Westminster* (Eng. Hist. Rev., Jan.); Eleanor Swift, *Obedientiary and other Accounts of Battle Abbey in the Huntington Library* (Bull. Inst. Hist. Research, Nov.); Gaston Zeller, *Une ancienne voie de traffic international à travers la Sarre* (An. l'Est, 1934, no. 4); P. de Remusat, *Le crime de Raibaut Remusat, 20 juin, 1391* (Rev. Études Hist., Oct.); Hans Bütow, *Zur Lebensgeschichte des Augustinermönches Johannes Klenkok, Bekämpfer des Sachsenspiegels* (Hist. Vierteljahr., Jan.); E. Van Steenberghe, *Gerson à Bruges* (Rev. Hist. Ecclés., Jan.); Richard A. Newhall, *Bedford's Ordinance on the Watch of September, 1428* (Eng. Hist. Rev., Jan.).

Documents: H. G. Richardson and G. O. Sayles, *The Parliament of Lincoln, 1316* [two letters] (Bull. Inst. Hist. Research, Nov.).

FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH CENTURIES

General review: Gustav Wolf, *Zusammenfassende reformationsgeschichtliche Arbeiter* (Zeitsch. f. Kirchengesch., 1934, nos. 1, 2).

Vol. II, the second half, of Schottenloher's *Bibliographie zur deutschen Geschichte im Zeitalter der Glaubensspaltung, 1517–1585* (Hiersemann) has appeared. It will be reviewed here at an early date.

A chapter from the history of anti-Semitism in Germany has been written by Wilhelm Grau, in a volume entitled *Antisemitismus im späten Mittelalter: Das Ende der regensburger Judengemeinde, 1450–1519* (Munich, Duncker and Humblot, 1934, 5.50 M.), with something more than side-glances at the present situation. It is a comprehensive study of the material available. There is a foreword by Professor K. A. von Müller.

Much light is thrown upon trade usages in the early sixteenth century by the contents of the five manuscripts printed in *Welthandelsbräuche* (Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, 1934, pp. xvi, 380, 20 M.), edited by Karl Otto Müller. These manuscripts were drawn for the information of the Baumgartners of Augsburg. The first is a book of trade usages for 1506, the second, English trade usages of 1508. The others deal with dues, gold and silver, packing, marking, tricks of traders, etc. The scope of the information is surprisingly wide considering the fact that it was assembled for a single mercantile house.

Voyageurs, Robes Noi[illegible]reurs de Bois (Institute of French Studies, Columbia University, 1934, pp. xiv, 391, $2.75), edited by Dr. Charles Upson Clark, is intended to make accessible to students simpler French narratives, but as the selections are from the stories of missionaries and explorers in the seventeenth century, the volume is a useful source book of early French colonial enterprises in America. They come from the Thwaites edition of the *Jesuit Relations* and from the Margry collection of documents. There are abundant notes and a brief bibliography.

Articles: H. M. Legros et E. Kerchner, *Louis XI à Alençon et au Mont Saint-Michel en 1473* (Rev. Études Hist., Oct.); John Horsch, *The Rise of Mennonitism in the Netherlands* (Mennonite Quar. Rev., Oct.); A. P. Newton, *The West Indies in International Politics, 1550–1580* (History, Dec.); B. B. Gamzue, *Elizabeth and Literary Patronage* (Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc., Dec.); E. A. Lewis, *The Toll Books of some North Pembrokeshire Fairs, 1599–1603* (Bull. Board Celtic Stud., Nov.); Johan Schreiner, *Norges-artiklen i Christian håndfestning* [articles relating to Norway in the coronation charter of Christian III] (Norw. Hist. Tidsskr., 1934, no. 4); J. U. Nef, *The Progress of Technology and the Growth of Large Scale Industry in Great Britain, 1540–1640* (Ec. Hist. Rev., Oct.); A. J. and R. H. Tawney, *An Occupational Census in the Seventeenth Century* (*ibid.*).

SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

The Scottish Historical Society has issued a fourth volume of *Highland Papers*. The editor is J. R. N. Macphail and W. K. Dickson has written a biographical introduction. These papers illustrate West Highland history from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century. In tracing the pedigrees of certain families such curious transformations of names as Gilleasbuig (Gaelic) to Archibald and McLea to Livingston are noted.

The subtitle *Un grand roi méconnu* indicates the thesis of Colonel Charles Romain's *Louis XIII* (Hachette, 1934, pp. 216, 15 fr.). As a biography it deals with every phase of the king's career.

Svensk Förvaltning i Livland, 1617–1634, by Ragnar Liljedahl (Upsala, 1933, pp. xxiv, 557), is an academic dissertation of great merit dealing with the administration in Livonia and Estonia in the earlier years of Swedish occupation.

A second volume has appeared of the new and critical edition of the *Lettres de Mme. de Maintenon* (Letouzey and Ané, 30 fr.), which is being prepared by Marcel Langlois under the auspices of the French Institute.

The manner in which Louis XIV regimented his court nobles and even princes of the blood is explained in a small volume entitled *Le rang et l'étiquette sous l'ancien régime* (Alcan, 1934, pp. viii, 154, 12 fr.), by Henri Brocher.

To its "Bibliothèque historique" the Librairie Plon has added a new edition of P. de Crousaz-Crétet's *Paris sous Louis XIV* (15 fr.). Another recent publication of the same house is *Isabelle II, reine d'Espagne* (pp. xxx, 298, 15 fr.), by Pierre de Luz. During her reign Spain suffered in every sense of the word from what M. Lavisse once called "un manque de roi".

David Nichol Smith's *Letters of Jonathan Swift to Charles Ford* (Oxford) contains items not included in Ball's edition of Swift's correspondence because unavailable when that collection was prepared. These letters were written to Charles Ford, the gazetteer, in the period 1708–1737, many of them in the years 1710–1714, and thus are of considerable interest to students of history.

Willard Connely in his *Sir Richard Steele* (Scribner) has reduced to a single readable volume the material in Aitken's longer work, adding some gleanings of his own. But his efforts to achieve a distinctive style obtrude themselves on the reader and thus defeat his purpose. In some cases he is careless with facts. Nevertheless, there is no other more satisfactory life of Steele for the general reader or undergraduate.

In the *Life and Work of Sir John Fielding* (Lincoln Williams) R. Leslie-Melville supplies a biography of the famous blind magistrate of Bow Street, brother of the novelist. The book deals as much with episodes in which Fielding played a part as with the man himself.

The aim of the volume entitled *Primitivism and the Idea of Progress in English Popular Literature of the Eighteenth Century* (Johns Hopkins Press, 1934, pp. xxi, 343, $2.75), by Lois Whitney, assistant professor at Vassar College, is "to see what the history of ideas in the eighteenth century would look like if it were written, not in terms of what the philosophers actually said, but in terms of what the public thought they said". Selecting for this purpose the familiar concepts of "primitivism" and "progress", she under-

took to examine their use in "popular" literature, especially in the last half of the eighteenth century. She seems to understand popular literature as implying the obscure rather than the widely circulated and well-known, and she attempted to "select from the available material popular documents that are as fresh but at the same time as thoroughly representative as possible". Unfortunately, readers are left entirely unaware of the movement of events in the society in which the writers lived, and the ideas considered do not seem to have been associated with any particular circumstances in a given time. W. T. L.

Religious Thought in the Eighteenth Century illustrated from Writers of the Period (Cambridge, University Press; New York, Macmillan, 1934, pp. xl, 301, $3.75), by Professor John Martin Creed and John Sandwith Boys Smith, fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, is a collection of excerpts from the works of writers who flourished in the eighteenth century, chiefly in Great Britain, arranged under the six categories: Natural Religion and Revelation, the Credentials of Revelation, the Grounds and Sufficiency of Natural Religion Considered, the Passing of the Age of Reason, the Study of the Bible, the Church in its Relation to the State. The British writers range from Locke to Burke and Paley, including Tindal, Sherlock, Butler, Hoadly, Law, Berkeley, Wesley, Warburton, and Hume. Those from other countries are Rousseau, Lessing, Kant, Spinoza, Herder, Richard Simon, and Jean Anstruc. The introduction is held together by a loose thread derived from the selections printed. The basis of selection is not clear, and the biographical information is insufficient to place these pieces in the controversies of their day. W. T. L.

The monograph of Dr. Edith Ruff dealing with *Jean Louis de Lolme und sein Werk über die Verfassung Englands* (Berlin, Emil Ebering, 1934, pp. 108, 4.20 M.) naturally has as its principal theme De Lolme's *La constitution de l'Angleterre,* for it was this work which perpetuated its author's name, but an important chapter is devoted to the troubles in Geneva which were the cause of De Lolme's voluntary exile. Another chapter discusses the relationship of his work to the teachings of Montesquieu and Rousseau and its criticism by Dupont de Nemours. Incidentally Dr. Ruff calls attention to the large use made of the book by Americans of the Revolutionary period, Adams, Madison, Wilson, and Morris. A final chapter treats of its influence on German liberal thinkers before 1848.

As some English historians have looked back with mingled pride and regret to the empire their forbears built and lost in America, so have French writers, and this little book by André Lichtenberger, *Montcalm et la tragédie canadienne* (Plon, 1934, pp. viii, 244, 12 fr.) is one of the numerous results. Unlike some others, it makes no pretense to original scholarship. It is a

sketchy but well-written account of the Seven Years War on this continent, with Montcalm as the central figure. Though describing a war, the author betrays no understanding of military operations. In a final analysis of the reasons for the fall of the French empire, he makes no mention of sea power. His chief emphasis is upon the historic quarrel between the French general and the Canadian-born governor, beneath which yawned the gulf that already separated the colony from its mother country. In addition to quoting voluminously from the published correspondence of the day, M. Lichtenberger cites later writers, some of whom have led him astray. To their errors, he has added others of his own making. *Nouvelle-Angleterre* is synonymous with the thirteen colonies, and Britain restored Louisbourg to France *surtout pour refrénir leur ambition.* A. L. B.

A volume which deals with the precursors of Catholic Emancipation is *The Irish Volunteers and Catholic Emancipation* (Burns, Oates, 12*s.* 6*d.*), by the Rev. Patrick Rogers. The "Volunteers" were an essentially Protestant organization and Presbyterians from the North of Ireland took the lead in formulating their program. The significant fact is that they contended for reform in parliamentary representation not only for themselves but for their Catholic neighbors. The other points in their program were revision of the trade laws and freedom of the Irish Parliament from English control.

The commission for the publication of documents dealing with the economic history of the French Revolution has issued a volume of great interest in its series of "Mémoires et Documents", *L'accaparement à Paris sous la Terreur: Essai sur l'application de la loi du 26 juillet, 1793* (Leroux, 40 fr.). The editor is Professor Henri Calvet, of the Lycée Janson-de-Sailly.

Another contribution to the history of the controversy between church and state in France during a critical period is made in *Le Saint-Siège et les anciens Constitutionnels: Mgr. Louis Belmas, ancien évêque constitutionnel de l'Aude, évêque de Cambrai, 1757–1841* (Picard, 2 vols., 175 fr.). As its subtitle indicates, this work deals especially with the religious movement in the department of the North.

Articles: Roger Blais, *Histoire de la forêt de la Ville de Nancy* (An. l'Est, 1934, no. 3); Samuel Germain, *La physique en Lorraine au début du XVII^e siècle* (*ibid.*); R. C. Anderson, *Royalists at Sea, 1651–1653* (Mariner's Mirror, Jan.); Lauritz Weibull, *Gustave-Adolphe et Richelieu* (Rev. Hist., Sept.); G. E. Fussell, *Farming Methods in the Early Stuart Period* [I] (Jour. Mod. Hist., Mar.); Max J. Wasserman and Frank H. Beach, *Some Neglected Monetary Theories of John Law* (Am. Ec. Rev., Dec.); J. C. Walker, *The Duke of Newcastle and the British Envoys at the Congress of Cambrai* (Eng. Hist. Rev., Jan.); Mario Einaudi, *The British Background of Burke's*

Political Philosophy (Pol. Sci. Quar., Dec.); Lucien Braye, *Le particularisme du Barrois mouvant à la veille de la Révolution* (An. l'Est, 1934, no. 3); Jean Collot, *L'affaire Réveillon* (Rev. Ques. Hist., Nov.); Maurice Harbulot, *Études sur les finances de l'ancienne France: Le sort dans les finances publiques* [lotteries] (Rev. Sci. Pol., July); L. de Cardenal, *Les idées de Linguet sur le crédit public* (Rév. Fr., July); M. L. Blumer, *La commission pour la recherche des objets de sciences et arts en Italie, 1796–1797* [III] (*ibid.*); Edmond Soreau, *Contribution à l'histoire du ravitaillement en Loir-et-Cher, pendant la Révolution* (An. Hist. Rév. Fr., Nov.); Michel Eude, *La Commune robespierriste* (*ibid.*); Mary Fisher, *The Treaty of St. Ildefonso in Martens' 'Recueil des Traités'* (Bull. Inst. Hist. Research, Nov.).

Documents: F. G. Emmison, ed., *The Earliest Turnpike Bill: Biggleswade to Baldock Road, 1622* (Bull. Inst. Hist. Research, Nov.); Edouard Chapuisat, ed., *Mounier, président de la Constituante et les journées des 5 et 6 octobre, 1789* [deposition made at Geneva in July, 1790] (Rév. Fr., July); P. Caron, ed., *Lettres de Jean Auvray, jardinier parisien, et de ses fils soldats, messidor, an II-pluviose, an III* (*ibid.*).

HISTORY SINCE 1800

General review: Kent Roberts Greenfield, *The Historiography of the Risorgimento since 1920* (Jour. Mod. Hist., Mar.); Raymond Guyot, *Histoire de France, 1815–1914* (Rev. Hist., Sept.).

The Congress of Vienna, 1814–1815 (G. Bell, 1934, pp. xii, 189, 6*s*.), by C. K. Webster, Litt. D., F. B. A., was first published by the British Foreign Office in 1919 as one of a series of handbooks on subjects likely to come under discussion during the peace conference. In his original preface Professor Webster termed it a *pièce de circonstance* and explained that it was written in eleven weeks. It was a *tour de force*, rather, not only because it was produced on short order, but because it gave the first balanced picture in English of a congress which had a better record for its contributions to lasting peace than has had the conference which was so soon to meet. The handbooks, Professor Webster remarks in his new preface, do not seem to have produced "much effect except on the waste-paper baskets". He adds that "when on January 28, 1919, one Delegate referred to the Congress of Vienna, President Wilson is recorded to have replied that: 'The present enterprise was very different from that undertaken a century ago, and he hoped that even by reference no odour of Vienna would again be brought into their proceedings.' Nor so far as I know was any introduced—by reference."

No account has hitherto existed of the technical development of the French foreign ministry since the French Revolution. This lacuna has been

filled by Emmanuel de Levi-Mirepoix in *Le ministre des affaires étrangères: Organisation de l'administration centrale et des services extérieurs, 1793–1933,* preceded by a substantial introduction tracing the growth from the sixteenth century (Angers, 1934, pp. 265).

An important phase of Gladstone's earlier administrative experience is described in *Mr. Gladstone at the Board of Trade,* by F. E. Hyde (Cobden-Sanderson, 10*s.* 6*d.*). He was appointed vice president of the board by Sir Robert Peel and was encharged with its responsibilities for three years and a half. Among the questions which came before him for legislative proposals were tariff revision, railway rates, and joint-stock companies. In dealing with these he first revealed some of the qualities which were to distinguish him as chancellor of the exchequer. It was, moreover, a great opportunity to be under such a chief as Sir Robert Peel.

Two books of interest for Austrian history of the Revolution of 1848 and the decade following are *Feldmarschall Fürst Windischgrätz: Revolution und Gegenrevolution in Österreich* (Vienna, Braumüller, 1934, pp. 408, 15 M.), by Paul Müller, and *Briefe des Staatskanzlers Fürsten Metternich-Winneburg an den Grafen Buol-Schauenstein aus den Jahren 1852–1859* (Munich, Oldenbourg, 1934, pp. 246, 8.50 M.), edited by Professor Carl J. Burckhardt. The author of the first has had access to the Windischgrätz papers in Tachau and the Metternich papers in Plass. He has also used to advantage the Vienna archives, especially the papers of Minister Bach. The Metternich letters in the second of the two volumes have been preserved in the Buol family.

A contribution of considerable interest to the history of the origin of Article 5 of the Treaty of Prague has been made by Professor Otto Scheel, of the University of Kiel, in *Bismarcks Wille zu Deutschland in den Friedensschlüssen 1866* (Breslau, Hirt, 1934, 9 M.). From the negotiations with Denmark prior to the outbreak of the Austro-Prussian War it is apparent that Bismarck was not opposed in principle to the cession of a part of Schleswig. His notions of a general settlement had to be modified in view of the situation set up after Königgrätz by attempted French intervention.

L'avènement de la République, 1873–1875 (Perrin, 15 fr.), by Charles Chesnelong, is made up of the author's memoirs published by his grandson. It will be recalled how important a part Chesnelong played in the attempt to place the Comte de Chambord on the throne as Henry V. He told this story in *La campagne monarchique d'octobre, 1873,* published in 1895.

Another volume has been published under the auspices of the Alsace-Lorraine institute of the University of Frankfurt. It is entitled *Wissenschaft und Literatur in Elsass-Lothringen, 1871–1918,* and is the third volume of the series "Das Reichsland Elsass-Lothringen, 1871–1918". The editor,

Georg Wolfram, was director of archives at Metz from 1888 to 1909, when he became director of libraries at Strasbourg.

A new volume in the official history of the French armies during the World War is volume IV, of tome I, *La bataille de l'Aisne: La course à la mer, 14 septembre–13 novembre, 1914.* There are four volumes of annexes and two cases of maps. The price is 615 francs.

General H. Colin's *La Cote 304 et le Mort Homme: 1916–1917* (Payot, 1934, pp. 186, 18 fr.) is, in a sense, a memorial history, written at the request of an association of veterans of the actions on the west bank of the Meuse. Although hardly an important contribution, it is an excellent work of this type; the brief narrative is amplified not with rhetoric but with interesting extracts from orders and reports, printed accounts, and personal recollections. There are also interesting quotations from German sources, and much attention is paid to the conduct of the battle on the German side. One notes repeatedly the similarity of tone and spirit in the comments of French and German participants: the battle very clearly made the same spiritual impression on both, and their comments recorded it in a tone of almost reverent seriousness—one in striking contrast to the buoyant rhetoric of their respective literary campfollowers. A German officer who served in the battle has observed that Verdun left the opposing armies united by a common experience which set them off and apart, so to speak, from the rest of the world. This was the striking note of Pétain's brief volume on Verdun, and it is echoed in this book. The difficulties and failures of the German Command General Colin sets forth with no blast of triumph but almost in a tone of sympathetic understanding. T. H. T.

General Charles H. Sherrill devoted a substantial portion of his time in Turkey in 1932–1933 to writing *A Year's Embassy to Mustafa Kemal* (Scribner's, 1934, pp. xv, 277, $3.00). The Turkish president—lately renamed by act of parliament Kemal Atatürk—is not only the principal subject but also a principal source of the book, since he granted the author long interviews, describing and illustrating by crude, effective drawings (here shown) the great days in his career, both military and political. Accordingly General Sherrill conveys in sprightly fashion much reliable information, clearing up doubts about this "rugged man of unusual strength and in excellent physical condition". Some errors intrude: neither the King-Crane nor the Harbord Commission was sent to Turkey in answer to a request from the Sivas Congress of September 4, 1919 (p. 72); before that date the reviewer had drafted that portion of the former commission's report which recommended an American mandate over the whole of Turkey; nor was the Turkish quarter of Smyrna "burned to the ground" in 1922 (p. 130), for he saw it intact in 1925. The appendix on "Stamboul's Palaces, Mosques", etc., is fresh and well worth reading. A. H. L.

Dr. Arthur Rosenberg's *Geschichte der Bolschevismus von Marx bis zur Gegenwart,* first published three years ago, has now been translated by Ian F. D. Morrow under the title of *A History of Bolshevism from Marx to the First Five Years' Plan* (Oxford University Press, 1934, pp. viii, 250, $3.75). As Dr. Rosenberg was once a member of the central committee of the German Communist party he writes of the history of Communism from sympathetic understanding. His book is a trustworthy guide in the study of the subject.

A History of National Socialism, by Konrad Heiden (Knopf, 1935, pp. xiii, 430, ix, $4.00), is made up of selections, translated from this well-known journalist's *Geschichte des Nationalsozialismus* (1932) and *Geburt des dritten Reiches* (1934). A final chapter has been added, dealing with the "Reichstag Trial", the purge of 1934, and other recent developments. There is a brief bibliography.

Vol. XV of "Osteuropäische Forschungen" is entitled *Die völkerrechtliche Anerkennung Sowjetrusslands* (Königsberg, Ost-Europa Verlag, 1934, pp. viii, 127, 5.50 M.). In it Dr. Peter Kleist deals with the whole subject of recognition and with its application to the Russian case. He also gives a preliminary sketch of the Revolution and of the way in which the federal union of socialistic republics was created. Emphasis is placed upon the question of recognition by the United States. Vol. XVI in the same series deals with a much earlier situation in which Russia was involved, *Die dritte Koalition und die Heilige Allianz* (pp. vi, 100, 4.50 M.), by Hildegard Schaeder. The author has utilized some of the newer sources discovered in the Austrian archives, as well as the material long familiar.

The decision of the Council on Foreign Relations to issue an annual edition of the *Political Handbook of the World* (Harper, pp. 201, $2.50), prepared by Walter H. Mallory, is a matter for congratulation by every student of world affairs. Perhaps the new volume presents incidentally evidence that the old earth is becoming stabilized, for the political and party situations revised down to January 1 are now (March 20) substantially unchanged. The Hitler régime flourishes and M. Flandin is still premier of France. One naturally turns to the pages on Ethiopia, and after satisfying questions which curiosity suggests, ventures the hope that a similar entry will be made in the edition of 1936, in spite of the clouds now sweeping across the Mediterranean.

The Council on Foreign Relations has issued a small collection of essays which originally appeared in *Foreign Affairs,* and which illustrate international problems as these appear to representative men of the nations concerned. The title is *The Foreign Policy of the Powers* ($1.50), and the contributors are Jules Cambon, Richard von Kühlmann, Sir Austen Chamber-

lain, Dino Grandi, Viscount Ishii, Karl Radek, and John W. Davis. The editor, Hamilton Fish Armstrong, has written the introduction.

A vexed question is discussed with ample knowledge and good judgment by Professor G. H. Blakeslee in *Conflicts of Policy in the Far East,* which is World Affairs Pamphlets, No. 6, published by the Foreign Policy Association and the World Peace Foundation.

In 1929, after having remained in Russia during and after the years of the Revolution, Countess Alexandra Tolstoy left the country. She was able to escape by getting permission to lecture in Japan. Her book, *I worked for the Soviet* (Yale University Press, 1934, pp. vii, 254, $3.00), is her defense of this flight—and it is a restrained but forceful one. She tells in vivid sketches of her life during the Revolution, of the various work she found to do, of her prison experiences, and especially of her organization of a school at Yasnaia Poliana, the nationalized estate of her father. At first she succeeded in keeping this school independent of local soviet control through the support of officials of the central government. However in 1929 it came under the control of a local soviet unit and she was powerless to prevent atheistic and military teaching there. Thus she felt her position intolerable. E. D. S.

The volume entitled *A Study of Chinese Boycotts, with special Reference to their Effectiveness* (Johns Hopkins Press, 1933, pp. xii, 306, $2.75), by Professor C. F. Remer and Mr. William B. Palmer, both of the University of Michigan, opens with an account of the boycott of the summer of 1905 directed against American goods in Shanghai and southern China, because of the ill-treatment of Chinese travelers in the United States. The movements are examined in detail, the earlier ones briefly, concluding with the "great boycott" of 1931–1932 against Japan, to which three chapters are devoted. From the evidence presented the successive boycotts appear to have reflected an increasingly aroused national sentiment and to have inflicted increasing damage upon the trade of the country boycotted. They have tended to stimulate domestic industry and have given fresh impetus to the national sentiment which they reflect. As an instrument of foreign policy their utility is most questionable, although the authors express the belief that some success in this field can be put to their credit. G. N. S.

Germany, the National Socialistic State is a "Study Course", prepared by Dr. Esther Caukin Brunauer under the auspices of the American Association of University Women, and may be obtained at its headquarters, 1634 Eye St., N. W., Washington, D. C. (50 cents).

A History of French Subsidies to Commercial Aviation, by Marian Donahue Tolles, is nos. 1–4, vol. XVIII, Smith College Studies in History.

Articles: Ernst Rudolf Huber, *Die deutsche Staatswissenschaft* [review

of development of political theory in 19th and 20th centuries] (Zeitsch. f. Gesamte Staatswiss., Nov.); James H. Wellard, *The State of Reading among the Working Classes of England during the first Half of the Nineteenth Century* (Library Quar., Jan.); Michael Roberts, *The Fall of the Talents, 1807* (Eng. Hist. Rev., Jan.); Michael Roberts, *Leigh Hunt's Place in the Reform Movement, 1808–1810* (Rev. Eng. Studies, Jan.); Charles Dupuis, *La Sainte Alliance et le directoire européen de 1815 à 1818* [concl'd] (Rev. Hist. Dipl., Oct.); Spyridion Pappas, *Un Napoléonide mort pour la Grèce: Paul Marie Bonaparte* (*ibid.*); William Miller, *The Centenary of Athens as Capital* (History, Dec.); Erwin Hölzle, *Cotta, der Verleger, und die Politik* (Hist. Vierteljahr., Jan.); H. Rosinski, *Die Entwicklung von Clausewitz' Werk "Vom Kriege" im Lichte seiner "Vorreden" und "Nachrichten"* (Hist. Zeitsch., Jan.); K. Borries, *Zur Politik der deutschen Mächte in der Zeit des Krimkrieges und der italienischen Einigung* (*ibid.*); Frederick Stanley Rodkey, *Conversations on Anglo-Russian Relations in 1838* (Eng. Hist. Rev., Jan.); Henryk Wereszycki, *Great Britain and the Polish Question in 1863* (*ibid.*); Marcel Blanchard, *La politique ferroviaire du Second Empire* (An. Hist. Éc. et Soc., Nov.); Maurice Halbwachs, *"Gross Berlin": Grande agglomération ou grande ville?* (*ibid.*); G. A. Ballard, *The Three British Armoured Corvettes* (Mariner's Mirror, Jan.); H. P. Mead, *The Story of the Semaphore* [V] (*ibid.*); Gustave Aubin, *Les origines de la grande industrie allemande* (Rev. Hist., Sept.); Henry Contamine, *La place forte de Metz de 1866 à 1914* (An. l'Est, 1934, no. 4); Leonid I. Strakhovsky, *Russia's Privateering Projects of 1878* (Jour. Mod. Hist., Mar.); Friedrich Luckwaldt, *Freiherr von Marschall als Botschafter in Konstantinople* (Berl. Monatsh., Dec.); Richard von Kühlmann, *Reichsgraf Paul Wolff Metternich zur Gracht* (*ibid.*, Jan.); Payson J. Treat, *China and Korea, 1885–1894* (Pol. Sci. Quar., Dec.); W. W. Lockwood, jr., *The International Settlement at Shanghai* (Am. Pol. Sci. Rev., Dec.).

Documents: Franklin D. Scott, ed., *Benjamin Constant's "Projet" for France in 1814* (Jour. Mod. Hist., Mar.); Wilhelm Schoof, ed., *Briefwechsel zwischen Jacob Grimm und dem Freiherrn vom Stein, nach ungedruckten Briefen* [1824–1830] (Preuss. Jahrb., Nov.); Lina Gasparini, *Massimiliano d'Austria, ultimo governatore del Lombardo-Veneto nei suoi ricordi* [I] (N. Antol., Jan. 16); K. A. von Müller, ed., *Ein unbekannter Vortrag Rankes aus dem Jahr 1862* (Hist. Zeitsch., Jan.); Willy Andreas, *Briefe Treitschkes an Historiker und Politiker vom Oberrhein* [II, concl., 1872–1895] (Preuss. Jahrb., Oct., Nov.); Graf Westarp, *Aus meinen Erinnerungen* [II, 1914–1918] (*ibid.*, Dec.).

UNITED STATES

GENERAL

General review: E. Préclin, *Histoire des États-Unis, des origines à 1787* (Rev. Hist., Sept.).

Among recent accessions to the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress the following may be noted: photostat of Friends' Book of Records, Chuckatuck, Nansemond County, Virginia, 1684 to 1755; papers of Thomas Amory (1682–1728) and Thomas Amory (1762–1823) (532 pieces); forty-five papers of John Singleton Copley, 1767 to 1799; photostats of papers of William Henry Harrison, 1819 to 1847; eighteen papers of Andrew Jackson, 1795 to 1840; papers of Joseph Sewall, collector of customs, Bath, Maine, 1834 to 1841; diary of Augustus Burbank, covering journey from Illinois to California in 1849; four letters from Robert C. Winthrop to George Ashmun, 1860; narrative of Lucius Chittenden, register of the United States Treasury, giving an account of the signing in haste of United States government bonds in 1864; papers of Frederick Sewall (son of Joseph Sewall) of the period of the Civil War, etc.; Gist Blair Collection, papers of the Blair and Woodbury families (Montgomery Blair, Francis P. Blair, Levi Woodbury, etc.); papers of Henry T. Rainey; and the usual inflow of photocopies from London, Paris, and Seville.

It is now believed that the building for the Archives of the United States will be ready for occupancy by the month of July. The preliminary work for the survey and organization of archive material is being carried on by the archivist, Dr. R. D. W. Connor, in his offices in the Department of Justice Building, the next neighbor to the Archives Building. An important element in the general organization provided for by law is the National Historical Publications Commission. At its first meeting, on January 29, Dr. Connor announced that William E. Dodd, president of the American Historical Association, had appointed Dr. Dumas Malone and Professor St. George L. Sioussat members of the commission. The other members, as the law also provided, were Dr. Hunter Miller, historical adviser, Department of State, Colonel W. D. Smith, chief, historical section, War Department, Captain Dudley W. Knox, superintendent of naval records, Navy Department, and Dr. J. Franklin Jameson, chief of division of manuscripts, Library of Congress. One of the decisions of the meeting was that the commission "recommend to Congress that in any celebration of the sesquicentennial of the adoption of the Constitution, one element should be a documentary historical publication illustrative of the origins of the Constitution, to be executed under the supervision of the National Historical Publications Commission".

In *Los enigmas de Colon: America fué descubierta el 13 de octubre de 1492* (Santiago, Chile, Nascimento, 1934, pp. 154) Señor E. C. Branchi

claims that Columbus discovered San Salvador on October 13 instead of on October 12. Only Las Casas and Fernando Columbus record the landfall on October 12, and Fernando copied from Las Casas. Columbus's Journal we have only in two mutilated copies made by Las Casas. He omitted the date October 12 which is included under the 11th. Branchi asserts that the events included under the 11th should be dated the 12th and the 13th. Las Casas manipulated the Journal so that the discovery should not be recorded on the 13th, a day of evil portent. The truth, according to Branchi, is revealed through other statements made by Columbus. In the Santangel letter he wrote that he went to the Indies in 93 days and returned in 78. He also wrote "en veinte dias pasé las Indias". These statements have hitherto been incomprehensible. He took 33 days to reach San Salvador after he lost sight of the Canaries. Navarrete points out that he went to the Indies in 71 days and returned in 48. Branchi explains these discrepancies. The discovery took place October 13 otherwise only 32 days elapsed without sight of land. From San Salvador, he continued his progress into the Indies for 20 days, dating from October 13, before he turned back at the Rio de Mares in Cuba. The day he turned back to the east at the Rio de Mares, 93 days actually had elapsed since he sailed from Palos. On December 27 Columbus decided to return immediately to Spain. Between December 27 and March 15, the day he reached Palos, is exactly 78 days. It seems to the reviewer that Señor Branchi probably has discovered the truth. However, his work would have been improved if he had omitted the ninth chapter. G. E. N.

Maurice Bouvet's *Le service de santé français pendant la Guerre d'indépendance des États-Unis, 1777–1782* (Hippocrate, 1934, pp. ix, 111) is a useful survey of the organization of the medical service of the French forces participating in the Revolutionary War. Attention is directed principally to the location, personnel, and equipment of the hospitals, to the kinds of cases treated, and the condition of the sick. Material is drawn from the Archives nationales and sundry provincial collections. The monograph is part of a larger work which the author has planned to write on military hospitals ashore and afloat during the period. E. E. C.

In a slender volume entitled *The Battle of Trenton, including its Historical Setting* (Princeton University Press, 1934, pp. vii, 39), Dr. H. Borton Butcher has presented a clear and concise, albeit conventional, account of the action, which is especially useful in showing the position of the troops with reference to the present streets of the city. E. E. C.

The small volume entitled *Sources of Culture in the Middle West* (Appleton-Century, 1934, pp. 110, $1.00) is the consequence of the happy initiative of its editor, Dr. Dixon Ryan Fox, who as a member of the 1933 program committee of the American Historical Association proposed the general

theme for the session at which the four papers included in the volume—or three papers and "Remarks"—were presented. Dr. Fox says in his explanatory introduction, "It is a notorious defect of such meetings that the papers too frequently lack philosophic breadth, that the program consists too exclusively of tiny monographs of narrative information little calculated to stir reflective thinking. . . . Several sessions were therefore planned in the hope of restoring to the gathering of a learned society some of that atmosphere of friendly contention more common in the nineteenth century than in our own. . . . The origins of culture in the Middle West, it seemed, afforded an excellent subject for such a session, and the present editor was commissioned to arrange it". In other words the Turner thesis was to be discussed. The three papers here printed are: "Political Institutions and the Frontier", by Benjamin F. Wright; "The Advance of Civilization into the Middle West in the Period of Settlement", by Avery Craven; and "The Development of Civilization in the Middle West, 1860–1900", by John D. Hicks. The "Remarks" were by Marcus L. Hansen. This is only the first of a series of similar volumes entitled "The Appleton-Century Historical Essays" under the general editorship of Professor William E. Lingelbach. One of the promised volumes is Dr. Fox's *Civilization in a Knapsack*.

One of the saddest phases of the great struggle of 1861–1865 is described in *Prisons and Prisoners of the Civil War* (Christopher Publishing House, 1934, pp. 116, $1.50), by Richard F. Hemmerlein. The story is told with an evident desire of impartiality. It is based upon House and Senate documents and the narratives of prisoners.

The United States since 1865, by Louis M. Hacker and Benjamin B. Kendrick (Crofts, 1934, pp. xx, 835, $5.00), has appeared in a revised edition, with an eleventh section added, entitled "America fights Depression". The original edition (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXVIII, 385) was published in 1932.

The Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Division of Statistical and Historical Research, of the United States Department of Agriculture has reproduced by the mimeograph process James Cleghorn's monograph *On the Depressed State of Agriculture* (pp. 66), an essay published by order of the Highland Society of Scotland (Edinburgh, 1822). Mr. Everett E. Edwards, who writes a foreword for the reproduction, remarks that "the similarity of the general problems of agriculture and the relief measures proposed in the years following the Napoleonic Wars and those of our own post-war period are striking", and hopes that "comparisons may furnish a perspective from which the current situation can be viewed with greater insight".

The Brookings Institution has issued a manual dealing with the *New Federal Organizations* (1934, pp. ix, 199, $1.50). The author is Laurence F. Schmeckebier. The volume gives a descriptive statement of each of the forty-

six major organizations and subsidiary corporations created or substantially extended between March 4, 1933, and June 30, 1934. The location of field offices is included. The citizen will thus be enabled to find his way more hopefully in the alphabetical maze. Another helpful book, also issued by the same institution, is entitled *Administrative Legislation and Adjudication* (1934, pp. xv, 296, $3.00), the authors of which are Frederick F. Blachly and Miriam E. Oatman. They regard the present situation as a "jungle of confusion", but find that "American experience affords the basic materials out of which an effective system of administration can be evolved". The uninitiated will be amazed at the extent to which administrative officers have become legislators and judges as well, each within his particular field of action. The former difference between American and European, especially French, distribution of powers, seems to have largely disappeared, except that here chaos, perhaps temporary, is a factor.

The Department of State has issued as No. 19 of the Conference Series, the *Report of the Delegates of the United States of America to the Seventh International Conference of American States,* at Montevideo, Uruguay, December 3–26, 1933.

Articles: André E. Sayous, *Les débuts du commerce de l'Espagne avec l'Amérique, 1503–1518* (Rev. Hist., Sept.); Dixon Ryan Fox, *The Protestant Counter Reformation in America* (New York History, Jan.); Gilbert J. Garraghan, *George Washington, Man of Character* (Mid-America, Jan.); Thomas Robson Hay, *John C. Calhoun and the Presidential Campaign of 1824* (North Carolina Hist. Rev., Jan.); Herbert J. Wunderlich, *Foreign Grain Trade of the United States, 1835–1860* (Iowa Jour. Hist. and Pol., Jan.); Michael Kraus, *George Bancroft, 1834–1934* (New England Quar., Dec.); Charles Lyon Chandler, *The Life of Joel Roberts Poinsett* [I, II] (Pennsylvania Mag. Hist. and Biog., Jan.); T. Maxwell Collier, *William H. Seward in the Campaign of 1860, with special Reference to Michigan* (Michigan Hist. Mag., winter); O. Fritiof Ander, *The Immigrant Church and the Patrons of Husbandry* (Agricultural Hist., Oct.); Clarence S. Brigham, *History of Book Auctions in America* (Bull. New York Public Library, Feb.); E. Pendleton Herring, *Politics, Personalities, and the Federal Trade Commission* [I] (Am. Pol. Sci. Rev., Dec.).

Documents: E. Clowes Chorley, *Additional Letters on the Seabury Consecration* (Hist. Mag. Protestant Episcopal Church, Dec.); Langdon Gilbert Rankin, ed., *An Englishman comments on American Opportunity* (New England Quar., Dec.); Wendell H. Stephenson and Edwin A. Davis, eds., *The Civil War Diary of William Micajah Barrow, September 23, 1861–July 13, 1862* [II] (Louisiana Hist. Quar., Oct.).

NEW ENGLAND, MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

The program for the celebration of the Tercentenary Celebration of Connecticut schedules exercises from the latter part of this month until late in the fall. A review of some of the *Tercentenary Pamphlets* will be found on another page of this journal. The first set was reviewed in Volume XXXIX, p. 531.

Apropos of vanished trolley cars on Madison Avenue the January *Bulletin* of the New York Historical Society prints the first installment of an essay by William Fullerton Reeves on "Rapid Transit Elevated Lines in New York City". It is to be continued in the April number.

Under the direction of the Pennsylvania State Archives in Harrisburg, there is in progress of compilation a union index of maps pertaining to Pennsylvania history. This includes maps from the very earliest period up to 1900, maps of the entire province or state or any part thereof, and, in the earlier period especially, maps of North America which include the Pennsylvania region. With every map is given all of its locations in libraries, historical societies, and other depositories, both in the United States and foreign archives. At present, there are approximately fifteen hundred (1500) original entries, exclusive of atlases, and the index is now in condition for answering inquiries. If there are depositories having such maps in their collections, Dr. Curtis W. Garrison would be glad to receive lists for inclusion in the index, giving exact title, author, publisher, date, place of publishing, and the name of the depository. Information should be sent to State Archivist, State Library, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

Articles: Clifford K. Shipton, *Education in the Puritan Colonies* (New England Quar., Dec.); Florence Conant Howes, *The Atkinson-Lancaster Collection* (New England Hist. Geneal. Reg., Jan.); A. Everett Peterson, *Edmund Bailey O'Callaghan* (New York History, Jan.); William S. Bailey, *The Underground Railroad in Southern Chautauqua County* (*ibid.*); Miriam R. Waxberg, *Money in Morris County, 1763–1782* (Proc. New Jersey Hist. Soc., Jan.); Henry J. Cadbury, *Anthony Benezet's Library* (Bull. Friends' Hist. Assoc., autumn); Joseph Jackson, *Iconography of Philadelphia* (Pennsylvania Mag. Hist. and Biog., Jan.); John Joseph Stoudt, *The German Press in Pennsylvania and the American Revolution* (*ibid.*); Lawrence H. Gipson, *Crime and its Punishment in Provincial Pennsylvania* (Pennsylvania Hist., Jan.); Irma A. Watts, *Pennsylvania Lotteries of other Days* (*ibid.*); Lily Lee Nixon, *Colonel James Burd in the Braddock Campaign* (Western Pennsylvania Hist. Mag., Dec.); Alfred P. James, *Fort Ligonier: Additional Light from Unpublished Documents* (*ibid.*); Randolph C. Downes, *The Treatment of the Indians in the Coshockton Campaign of 1781* (*ibid.*); Marion Hathway, *Dorothea Dix and Social Reform in Western Pennsylvania* (*ibid.*).

Documents: *Letters of Tristram Dalton of Newburyport* [1773–1794] (Essex Inst. Hist. Coll., Jan.); E. Wilder Spaulding, ed., *George Clinton's Cruise on the Privateer Defiance, 1757–1758* (New York Hist., Jan.).

SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

Henrico Parish in the Diocese of Virginia, and the Parishes Descended therefrom (pp. 36), by Morgan P. Robinson, is an off-print from the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* for January, 1935. The history of the complicated changes from 1634 to 1933 is told by means of a chart and numerous explanatory notes. An appendix contains the texts of six pertinent acts of the Virginia assembly which are not found in Hening's *Statutes at Large*.

The October number of the *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* is in large part devoted to commemoration of the late President Chandler. Among the tributes is one by Douglas S. Freeman, with the title, "This Dreamer Cometh", and there are several addresses and papers by Dr. Chandler.

Among the recent accessions reported by the North Carolina Historical Commission are 988 letters, chiefly of the eighteenth century, added to the John Gray Blount Collection. These letters deal with speculation in western lands as well as with commerce and politics. Another accession includes the minute books of Richmond County court for the years 1793–1797, 1801–1802.

Articles: Julia Cherry Spruill, *The Southern Lady's Library, 1700–1776* (South Atlantic Quar., Jan.); Josiah Moffatt, *A Merchant-Planter of the Old South* (*ibid.*); George C. Keidel, *Early Maryland Newspapers* [cont'd] (Maryland Hist. Mag., Dec.); Paul H. Giddens, *Maryland and the Earl of Loudon* (*ibid.*); Edgar Erskine Hume, *The Virginia Society of the Cincinnati's Gift to Washington College* [cont'd] (Virginia Mag. Hist. and Biog., Jan.); *id., Orange County, Virginia, and the Society of the Cincinnati* (Tyler's Quar. Hist. and Geneal. Mag., Jan.); H. L. Ganter, *Some Notes on "The Charity of the Honourable Robert Boyle, Esq., of the City of London, Deceased"* [I] (William and Mary College Quar. Hist. Mag., Jan.); L. J. Cappon, *The Yankee Press in Virginia, 1861–1865* (*ibid.*); James W. Patton, *White Spirituals in the Southern Uplands* (Tennessee Hist. Mag., Jan.); William H. Gehrke, *The Transition from the German to the English Language in North Carolina* (North Carolina Hist. Rev., Jan.); Mabel L. Webber, *The Thomas Elfe Account Book, 1768–1775* [cont'd] (South Carolina Hist. and Geneal. Mag., Oct.); Douglas C. McMurtrie, *The Correspondence of Peter Timothy, Printer of Charlestown, with Benjamin Franklin* [1754–1777] (*ibid.*); *Dorothy Dodd, The Schooner Emperor: an Incident of the Illegal Slave Trade in Florida* (Florida Hist. Soc. Quar., Jan.); Hugh Young, *A*

Topographical Memoir on East and West Florida, with Itineraries of General Jackson's Army, 1818 [concl'd] (*ibid.*); John Delanglez, *A French Bishop for Louisiana, 1722–1763* (Cath. Hist. Rev., Jan.); John Smith Kendall, *Some Distinguished Hispano-Orleanians* (Louisiana Hist. Quar., Jan.); Robert Dabney Calhoun, *The Origin and Early Development of County-Parish Government in Louisiana* (*ibid.*); J. Evetts Haley, *The Commanchero Trade* (Southwestern Hist. Quar., Jan.); Albert Woldert, *The Location of the Tejas Indian Village* (*San Pedro*) *and the Spanish Missions in Houston County, Texas* (*ibid.*).

Documents: Mrs. George P. Coleman, ed., *Randolph and Tucker Letters* [cont'd] [letter of Martha Dangerfield Bland, Mar. 30, 1781] (Virginia Mag. Hist. and Biog., Jan.).

WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

The *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* for March includes the following articles: "The Stamp Act in the Floridas", by Wilfred B. Kerr; "Some Reflections on the Career of General James Wilkinson", by Thomas R. Hay; "Henry A. Wise and the Virginia Fire Eaters of 1856", by Clement Eaton, and "The Manual Labor Experiment in the Land-Grant College", by Earle D. Ross. The document is "John Peters' Diary of 1838–41", edited by Margaret L. Brown.

The Sixteenth Annual Indiana History Conference, on December 7 and 8, was rendered notable not only by the interest of the program, but also by the dedication of the beautiful new State Library and Historical Building. In this building are housed the division of Indiana History and Archives and the Historical Bureau. Upon the State Library devolves the care of all public records which are no longer of official use. Here also is being assembled an invaluable collection of state and local documents. The section of manuscripts alone has over one hundred and twenty-five thousand pieces. The Historical Bureau, of which Dr. Christopher B. Coleman is director, publishes a monthly *Indiana History Bulletin* and edits the volumes of the "Indiana Historical Collections". It also co-operates with the Indiana Historical Society in the work of the *Indiana Magazine of History*. Apropos of the new State Library Building a most appropriate publication of the Indiana Historical Society is *Early Architects and Builders of Indiana*, by Lee Burns. Private dwellings, as well as churches and public buildings, are described. One of the most interesting of the first is "White Hall", built by Isaac White a short time before he was killed in the Tecumseh campaign.

To the "Abraham Lincoln Association Papers" has been added a slender, tastefully printed volume embodying two addresses delivered at Springfield on February 12, 1934: "The Promise of the First Republican Administration:

Abraham Lincoln, 1860", by Frederic L. Paxson; and "Lincoln's Power with Words", by Paul M. Angle. The introduction is written by Logan Hay, president of the association.

Michigan is also celebrating a centennial. "Michigan Day", January 26, was the occasion of a gala meeting at Grand Rapids of the Michigan State Historical Society.

Under the auspices of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin Miss Alice E. Smith, curator of manuscripts, has completed a survey of the Dane County (Madison) records. Her report is designed to facilitate similar inventories for other counties. Miss Lillian Krueger, assistant editor of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, is completing an index of the first fifteen volumes which will be published in July. It is hoped that Dr. Louise P. Kellogg's volume entitled *The British Régime in Wisconsin and the Northwest*, already in press, will appear before the close of the year. Mr. Charles E. Brown, director of the State Historical Museum, has prepared a list of the local museums of Wisconsin.

Articles: R. C. Ballard Thruston, *Some Recent Finds regarding the Ancestry of General George Rogers Clark* (Filson Club Hist. Quar., Jan.); Alice Read Rouse, *The Pioneer Grants* (Reg. Kentucky State Hist. Soc., Jan.); Lucy Stillwell Williams, *John Cabell Breckinridge* [cont'd] (*ibid.*); Robert H. White, *Tennessee's Four Capitals* (East Tennessee Hist. Soc. Publ., no. 6); Culver H. Smith, *Propaganda Technique in the Jackson Campaign of 1828* (*ibid.*); S. J. Folmsbee, *The Origins of the Nashville and Chattanooga Railroad* (*ibid.*); Thomas F. O'Connor, *The Onondaga Mission* (Mid-America, Jan.); Francis Phelps Weisenburger, *A Life of Charles Hammond, the First Great Journalist of the Northwest* (Ohio Archaeol. Hist. Quar., Oct.); Leonard S. Kenworthy, *Henry Clay at Richmond in 1842* (Indiana Mag. Hist., Dec.); John G. Van Deusen, *Did Republicans "colonize" Indiana in 1879?* (*ibid.*); Percival Graham Rennick, *The Peoria and Galena Trail and Coach Road* (Jour. Illinois State Hist. Soc., Jan.); Aubrey Starke, *The Indigenous Iron Industry of Illinois* (*ibid.*); Frank J. Heinl, *Congregationalism in Jacksonville and early Illinois* (*ibid.*); Blaine Brooks Gernon, *Lincoln's Visits to Chicago* (Bull. Chicago Hist. Soc., Feb.); Ida M. Schaaf, *The First Roads West of the Mississippi* (Missouri Hist. Rev., Jan.); Dorothy B. Dorsey, *The Panic of 1819 in Missouri* (*ibid.*); Charles A. Hawley, *A Communistic Swedenborgian Colony in Iowa* (Iowa Jour. Hist. and Pol., Jan.); Shelby B. Schurtz, *Gabriel Richard and the University of Michigan* (Michigan Hist. Mag., winter); Milo M. Quaife, *The Myth of the Kensington Rune Stone* (New England Quar., Dec.); Joseph Schafer, *The Horicon Dam Question* (Wisconsin Mag. Hist., Dec.); Louise Phelps Kellogg, *Old Fort Howard* (*ibid.*); Kenneth W. Porter, *Negroes and the Fur Trade* (Minnesota

Hist., Dec.); William J. Petersen, *The Rock Island Railroad Excursion of 1854* (*ibid.*); Edgar B. Wesley, *The Army and the Westward Movement* (*ibid.*); George A. Root, *Ferries in Kansas: V, Solomon River* (Kansas Hist. Quar., Nov.); T. L. Green, *A Forgotten Fur Trading Post in Scotts Bluff County* (Nebraska Hist. Mag., Jan. [1934]); James F. Willard, *Side Lights on the Pike's Peak Gold Rush, 1858–1859* (Colorado Mag., Jan.); Le Roy R. Hafen, *The Voorhees Diary of the Lawrence Party's Trip to Pike's Peak, 1858* (*ibid.*, Mar.); Colin B. Goodykoontz, *Colorado as seen by a Home Missionary, 1863–1868* (*ibid.*); A. J. Fynn and L. R. Hafen, *Early Education in Colorado* (*ibid.*); F. W. Hodge, *Pueblo Names in the Oñate Documents* (New Mexico Hist. Rev., Jan.); Dan W. Peery, *George W. Steele, First Governor of the Territory of Oklahoma* (Chron. Oklahoma, Dec.); W. T. Atkin, *Snake River Fur Trade, 1816–1824* (Oregon Hist. Quar., Dec.); Philip H. Overmeyer, *Villard and the University of Oregon* (*ibid.*); Douglas C. McMurtrie, *Washington Newspapers, 1852–1890: a Supplement to Professor Meany's List* (Washington Hist. Quar., Jan.); Lionel H. Laing, *An Unauthorized Admiralty Court in British Columbia* (*ibid.*).

Documents: Samuel C. Williams, ed., *The Executive Journal of Governor John Sevier* [cont'd] (East Tennessee Hist. Soc. Publ., no. 6); Otto A. Rothert, ed., *Three Letters of Henry Clay* [1829, 1842, 1851] (Filson Club Hist. Quar., Jan.); William Nicholson, *A Tour of the Indian Agencies in Kansas and the Indian Territory in 1870* [concl'd] (Kansas Hist. Quar., Nov.); *With the U. S. Army along the Oregon Trail, 1863–1866: Diary by Jno. J. Pattison* (Nebraska Hist. Mag., April [1934, printed Feb., 1935]); Nellie B. Pipes, ed., *Journals of John H. Frost, 1840–1843* [concl.] (Oregon Hist. Quar., Dec.).

CANADA

General review: T. W. L. MacDermot, *Recent Books on the Empire and Foreign Policy* (Canadian Hist. Rev., Dec.).

With the month of February the Canadian Political Science Association has begun the publication of *The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*. The article that is of special interest to historical students asks "What is left of Adam Smith?" and Professor Stephen Leacock undertakes to answer.

The volume entitled *Essays in Constitutional Law* (Oxford University Press, 1934, pp. xv, 183, $3.00), by Professor W. P. M. Kennedy, of the University of Toronto, is a collection of seven articles and addresses published or delivered in recent years. They will serve as a supplement to the author's *Constitution of Canada*. They deal with such subjects as "The Nature of Canadian Federalism", "Law and Custom in the Canadian Constitution", and "The Imperial Conferences, 1926–30".

The Canadian Institute of International Affairs has sponsored a volume on *The Canadian Economy and its Problems* (Toronto, 1934, pp. 356), edited by H. A. Innis and A. F. W. Plumptree. The general introduction is by Professor Innis. The subject falls into two parts (1) "The Canadian Economy and the Depression", and (2) "Central Banking in Canada". Under these there are many special topics, each treated by a separate writer.

The Department of Education for Ontario has issued a new edition of the *Joint Catalogue of the Periodicals and Serials in the Libraries of the City of Toronto.* The previous edition appeared in 1924, and since that time several library changes had made a revision necessary.

Professor R. G. Trotter, of Queen's University, is the author of *Canadian History: a Syllabus and Guide to Reading* (Toronto, Macmillan, 1934, pp. xiv, 193, $1.75).

Articles: J. J. Talman, *The Position of the Church of England in Upper Canada, 1791–1840* (Canadian Hist. Rev., Dec.); M. Ayearst, *The 'Parti Rouge' and the Clergy* (*ibid.*); A. H. Young, *A Fallacy in Canadian History* [question of church establishment] (*ibid.*).

Documents: *Landed Endowments for Religious Purposes in Nova Scotia and the Canadas, 1749* (*ibid.*).

CUBA, MEXICO, AND SOUTH AMERICA

The George Washington University Press has published a second volume of seminar conference lectures under the title of *The Caribbean Area* (1934, pp. vii, 604, $3.00), edited by Professor A. Curtis Wilgus, director of the Center of Inter-American Studies. These lectures were delivered in the summer of 1933. Among the lecturers were: Samuel G. Inman, Columbia University; Leland H. Jenks, Wellesley College; Roscoe R. Hill, Library of Congress; W. H. Callcott, University of South Carolina; J. Fred Rippy, Duke University; W. W. Pierson, jr., University of North Carolina; and Chester Lloyd Jones, University of Wisconsin.

At the invitation of President Carlos Mendieta, in March, 1934, the Foreign Policy Association appointed a commission to investigate and report the conditions in Cuba. Raymond Leslie Buell was the chairman, and among its members were Professors F. W. Fetter, F. D. Graham, L. H. Jenks, and Dr. Ernest Gruening. The investigations were conducted in May, June, and July, and the report drawn up after a long conference of the commission as a whole. The result is a substantial volume entitled *Problems of the New Cuba* (Foreign Policy Association, pp. xi, 523, $3.00). One feature which increases the reader's confidence in the report is that the reservations of members in reference to particular recommendations are entered as notes, and that for these there is a separate index.

Among the several works called forth by the recent dispute between Colombia and Peru over the Letitia affair is a small volume written by Elisio Medina (*Monografia sobre el descubrimiento del Río Amazonas, sus primeros navegantes y las tribus que habitaban en sus riberas y cercanias, 1540–1640* (Bogotá, Imprenta Nacional, 1933, pp. 146). As the title indicates, it is a discussion of the exploration of the Amazon and of the primitive inhabitants residing along its banks. It is based largely upon the well-known account of Father Cristóbal de Acuña, and contains a brief bibliography which does not, however, include the excellent monographs of Sir Clements Markham and Toribio Medina. J. F. R.

Dr. John A. Mackay, the author of *The Other Spanish Christ: a Study in the Spiritual History of Spain and South America* (Macmillan, 1933, pp. xv, 288, $2.00), is a Protestant missionary, who is a theologian and a psychologist rather than a historian. Nevertheless, he possesses considerable knowledge of the history of Spain and Spanish America. His volume contains brief discussions of several social and religious leaders who deserve the serious consideration of scholars concerned with the civilization of this part of the world—Giner de los Ríos, Unamuno, Gabriela Mistral, Ricardo Rojas, Monzó, Haya de la Torre, and others. It also contains a useful account of the Protestant movement in South America. The style is far better than the average, and the author exhibits commendable tolerance. J. F. R.

Whither Latin America? An Introduction to its Economic and Social Problems (Crowell, 1934, pp. xix, 185, $2.00), by Frank Tannenbaum, with an introduction by James T. Shotwell, presents a program for research in the profitable field provided by the Latin American nations. Except in a few instances, where some discussion of conditions and trends is given, the volume consists of questions and suggestions as to problems that should be studied to undertand the present situation and future possibilities of Latin America. This method is applied to such matters as industrialism, finance, trade, transportation, education, labor, and agriculture. One point stands out that, while the author seeks to consider Latin America as a unit, the many diversities of the several countries make more individual treatment necessary. Some of the difficulties to be encountered and the methods to be used in research in this interesting field are indicated in the appendix. R. R. H.

Articles: Herbert Thurston, *The First Beatified Martyr of Spanish America* (Catholic Hist. Rev., Jan.); Philip Coolidge Brooks, *Pichardo's Treatise and the Adams-Onís Treaty* (Hispanic Am. Hist. Rev., Feb.); Judith Blow Williams, *The Establishment of British Commerce with Argentina* (*ibid.*); William Whatley Pierson, jr., *Foreign Influences on Venezuelan Political Thought, 1830–1930* (*ibid.*).

Documents: *Archivo Santander: Cartas inéditas sobre el Congreso de Panamá* (Bol. Hist. Antig., Nov.); V. Lecuna, *Documentos de carácter político, militar y administrativo relativos al periodo de la Guerra á Muerte* (Bol. Ac. Nac. Hist., Oct.).

The following persons have made contributions to the section of Historical News: A. I. Andrews, T. R. S. Broughton, E. C. Burnett, A. L. Burt, E. P. Cheyney, E. E. Curtis, E. N. Curtis, R. R. Hill, J. F. Jameson, W. T. Laprade, L. M. Larson, H. S. Lucas, A. H. Lybyer, G. E. Nunn, J. F. Rippy, W. S. Robertson, G. N. Steiger, T. H. Thomas.